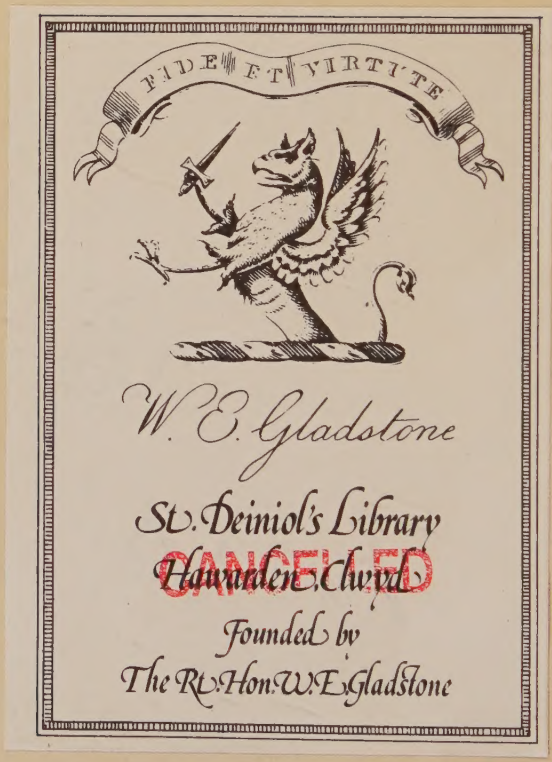
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55 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
221 EAST 20TH STREET, CHICAGO
TREMONT TEMPLE, BOSTON
128-132 UNIVERSITY AVENUE, TORONTO

THE STORY OF THE ENGLISH PRAYER BOOK

ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENTS. WITH SPECIAL CHAPTERS ON THE SCOTTISH, IRISH, AMERICAN AND CANADIAN PRAYER BOOKS

BY

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SECOND EDITION

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.
LONDON ✦ NEW YORK ✦ TORONTO
1930

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The author desires to express here his deep debt of gratitude to those English and Canadian Churchmen who have offered most acceptable suggestions and criticisms; and especially to Bishop Knox for his kindness in revising the proof-sheets and adding many valuable recommendations. It was by his kindly and earnest entreaty the first Appendix to Chapter XV on the Ordination Service was written.

Of the multiplied testimonies received to its value, this one may be selected from Professor Wallis, formerly Professor of Liturgics at the Virginia Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church:

"I am delighted with it, and regard it as the best I have yet read for general reading and for College and Seminary use. It is clear, definite and complete in every way and, what so few writers attain, interesting. If I were still Professor of Liturgics, as I was among other chairs, at the Virginia Seminary, I would use it as a companion to my notes, and I trust it will have a large sale."

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PREFACE

The desire of earnest Church people, young and old, to know more about their Prayer Book is easily understood. No other Church possesses such an asset as the Anglican Prayer Book. It has been for centuries a dominating influence in English life. It has moulded the family, the Church, and the Empire. Next to the Bible it has been the source of those manifold moral and spiritual impulses that have formulated the thinking and acting of God's children wherever the Church of England is known.

But it is to be feared that a great number of our Church people have only vague ideas with regard to its origin, its object, and its contents. It is obvious, also, that many writers on the Prayer Book, and especially upon the history of the Prayer Book, dwell more upon the material and contents of the Service Books that preceded it, than upon the motives and objects of the men who compiled it. The object of the author in this work is chiefly to turn the mind of the reader into a channel that is somewhat novel in liturgical writing, and to take a line that is somewhat different from the ordinary course of Prayer Book Introductions. In all our College Libraries—British, American, and Canadian—and especially in our Church Colleges, are valuable volumes containing stores of information with regard to liturgical origins and the various sources of the Pre-Reformation Service Books. But these works, and works that are founded upon them,

are largely inaccessible. This is an attempt, in a very simple way, to bring to the average Churchman the information that is stored up in a multitude of volumes, and to put it into such a shape that he who runs may read at a glance the story of our Prayer Book.

While the author desires to trace the various steps in its historic evolution with clearness and accuracy, he also desires to delineate the deeper springs of character and spiritual resolve that determined the most important of the critical phases of the compilation of the Prayer Book. It was in the later years of the reign of Edward VI that the views of the Reformer Bishops reached their high-water mark of Scriptural conviction, and it was during this time that they imprinted upon the Prayer Book that form of worship and teaching that has remained the rich heritage of the Anglican Church from that day to this.

The sources of suggestion have been various, and manifold, for the work represents the harvest of many years of reading and study in the field of Liturgics, but a brief list of the leading authorities will be found on pages 278-9.

In a work of such compass it is almost impossible to avoid minutiæ of error and apparent inaccuracies when authorities so often differ, but the author has endeavoured with the utmost care to verify every historical statement, and, above all, to write what he has written in the spirit of love for Christ and His Truth and His Church.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

THE investigation of origins is always attractive to the thoughtful mind, but the study of the history of the Anglican Prayer Book must ever be possessed of a fascinating interest to the English Churchman. The Prayer Book has a charm like the charm of home to the man who loves it, and when we think of the Prayer Book and its beauty and its power, in the past as well as in the present, we cannot but be animated by a desire to know how it was produced, what were its origins, and the methods of the minds that were at work in its production.

Now the starting point of all our reading and thinking must be this: The Prayer Book was the product of an Age. That Age was the Reformation. The men who produced it were the Anglican Reformers. They were scripture-inspired, spirit-led men, the men who represented in that cardinal epoch of England's history the leadership of the English Church. The Church of England was not born at the Reformation. That is a historical error. But it was born again then. And our Prayer Book represents the new birth of that great era. It came from men whose eyes were opened to see, whose hearts were inflamed with the love of Christ, to do and to dare. As the product, therefore, of that age and of these men, the Prayer Book is the exponent of the distinctive principles of the *re*-formation of the Church of England. It stands to-day as a bulwark of the scrip-

tural and spiritual truth that those men re-discovered for the Church; of the rights and liberties of the laity of England's Church that they then secured; of the recovery of the spiritual worship of the Apostolic Church that they re-established; and, above all, of the revival of Apostolic Christianity.

The history of the Prayer Book is, in one sense, the history of the Reformation of the Church of England. For it was:

The result of the repudiation of the papal supremacy.

The logical consequence of the abolition of the mediæval service from the English Church.

The expression of the new worship of the national Church in its form and language and ritual and purpose.

The recovery of the right of the laity to participate intelligently in a people's service.

The re-assertion of primitive truth on the lines of the New Testament and Apostolic teaching.

In one word, the *re*-formation of the worship, and of the doctrinal system of the Church of England.

The Prayer Book, as a book, represents in its contents the productions of many ages and the writings of many authors. It is not the production of a single author on one subject. It is a compilation. And its contents and materials cover a period of about three thousand years. It represents the best of the best of the liturgical material of all the Churches: the inspired outpourings of prophet and psalmist, and of the Apostles in the Apostolic Age, the work of the anonymous authors of the Ante-Nicene and Post-Nicene eras; of the early and later medieval periods; of the Roman; of the Anglo-Saxon; of the Lutheran and other reformers; and of the divines of the Caroline era. As far as the material is concerned, the fine illustration of Canon Daniel in his Preface, of a cathedral built of many materials, with stones brought

from many quarries, by many builders, but built on one great architectural plan and unified by one constructive mind and inspiring spirit, is accurate and descriptive. The vast historical reach of the Prayer Book is almost a revelation to the thoughtful student.

For instance, we have in the Prefaces of the Prayer Book not only the original work of Cranmer and Sanderson, the Englishmen, but, according to Bishop Dowden, the suggestion of the Spaniard, Cardinal Quignon. In the Morning and Evening Prayer, we have in addition to the inspired writings of David and Luke, the work of the Englishman Cranmer, the Pole A'Lasco (and possibly, though it is only a tradition, the Gallican Ambrose, the African Augustine), the Roman Gregory, the Italian Gelasius, and Chrysostom, the brilliant Bishop of Constantinople. In the Communion and Baptismal Services, we have the inspired words of Moses and the Apostles close to those of Epiphanius, the Syrian Bishop of Salamis, and the work of Cranmer and Ridley, and (possibly) Cyril of Jerusalem, side by side with that of Luther and Bucer, of Osiander and Melancthon.

But though the Prayer Book represents in its content and its material the production of many ages, it took its permanent form in the brief period of about three years of crowded English history. In 1548-49, the book was first compiled. In 1551-52 it was revised and assumed substantially its present form, and out of that brief period of English ecclesiastical history it emerged as the masterpiece of a nation's liturgiology.

There are two other points that are essential here for the student to grasp. The first is this : The Prayer Book was not the production of the reign of Henry VIII. In the reign of Henry VIII the Church of England was still unreformed ; its worship was still what we should call Romish worship. And though the supreme achievement of that reign, nationally and ecclesiastically, was the repudiation of the papal supremacy, and the deliverance

of the English Church from the tyranny of the Pope, with the exception of a few initial efforts in the direction of Protestant reform, little was yet done towards the making of the Prayer Book. The day for that had not yet come.

In the second place, it must be remembered that our Prayer Book was not a mere revision of Pre-Reformation Service Books. It was not a mere revised Breviary. It was not merely a reformed or Anglicanized Missal. It was not a cunningly devised amalgam of old services and service forms. From the way in which some writers on the Prayer Book have written one would almost imagine this. But no! It was a new thing in the Anglican Church. It was the climax of a series of separations, clean and clear-cut from the Church of Rome. It stood for the new genius of the Church of England. It was the embodiment in a book of those great tidal waves of movement from the Papacy, from tradition, from the Mass, from the complexity and incomprehensibility of the dark and dumb services of a thousand years of intolerable error and superstition, back to the Bible, and back to the simplicity and spirituality of apostolic Church truth.

The Prayer Book, in a word, stands for the victory of the Reformation. It represents the victory of truth over error, of liberty over bondage, of light over darkness. In its deepest aspect it was the victory of the Bible. It was the triumph of the glorious Word of God, through our Anglican Reformers, not only for the Church of England, but for the people of England. And more. It was the victory of the evangel. In the striking words of Cranmer in the Preface of Ceremonies: "What would Saint Augustine have said, if he had seen the ceremonies of late days used among us: whereunto the multitude used in his time was not to be compared? This our excessive multitude of Ceremonies was so great, and many of them so dark, that they did more confound and

darken, than declare and set forth Christ's benefits unto us. And besides this, Christ's Gospel is not a Ceremonial Law (as much of Moses' Law was) but it is a religion to serve God, not in bondage of the figure or shadow, but in the freedom of the spirit."

What depths of meaning, what vistas of the revelation of an illumined heart rise up before modern Churchmen as they read with gratitude these words from the pen of the man whose mind was stamped upon the Prayer Book as we now have it!

In one word, the Prayer Book will ever stand as a monument of the nationalizing of England's Church, and of that great epoch in England's history when the Pope was turned out, and the Bible was brought in. In 1532-34 the Pope was dethroned; and in 1536 the Bible was enthroned in England's Church. Every page of the Prayer Book almost is an evidence of this; but especially those lingering Latin terms that evoke occasional surprise. There they stand: Venite, Te Deum, Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis, etc., etc., etc., in Morning and Evening Prayer, before the Athanasian Creed, and throughout the Psalter, the remnants of a great ecclesiastical revolution. They tell of the triumph of a spiritual democracy and the vindication of the rights of the laity, the Church's common people, to worship their God in their own way. These lingering Latin words seem to say with a voice, strange but loud: "Rome rule in England's Church is over. Never again shall Englishmen worship their God in a language which they do not understand." (See Article XXIV and Preface Concerning the Church.)

Our Prayer Book will ever stand, also, as a monument of the triumph of English commonsense. As a whole, it is a tribute to the victory of the sanctified commonsense of an earnest English Churchman. Cranmer saw with his penetrating vision the utter unreality of the Latin services for English worshippers. It was not

only the use of the unknown tongue. It was more than that. It was the jumble and muddle of the Latin services. It was the piecing and patching of incoherent odds and ends, without meaning or order; interrupted lessons, chopped-up Psalms, meaningless versicles, senseless repetitions. He determined to put an end to all these things. There was no edification about them. There was no help in them. He could not see how they could possibly do anybody any good. So, with a spiritual skill that in our day seems almost inspired, the services were compiled and re-arranged, not by accident, but in accordance with a great plan, the vision of the great spiritual necessities of England's people and England's Church. As he said himself, edification was to be the supreme rule. Everything was to stand or fall by that. If a thing did not help the worshipper, it was to go.

But, above all, it will ever stand as a lasting monument of the victory of the Bible and of the way in which the Word of God, read in the light of the Spirit by the opened eyes of England's Bishop-Reformers, transformed not only the leading Churchmen of a National Church, but the National Church itself. "Darkness covered the land and gross darkness the people. But God said: Let there be light, and there was light." And with the coming of the Light of His Holy Word, the glory of the Lord arose upon England's Church. It was the Bible discovered, the Bible translated, the Bible published, the Bible read, the Bible understood, that was the explanation of the Prayer Book desired and the Prayer Book obtained for England's people. But everything in its own order. The Bible first; after that the Prayer Book. It was the working of the Scriptures in the minds of the leaders of England's Church that was the cause of the reformation of England's Church. It was the Bible that inaugurated the thoughts, that created the desire and then the vision, and, finally, the production of the Book of Common Prayer.

To summarize: The five foundation planks of the re-constructed Anglican Prayer Book were in brief:

1. The English tongue.
2. The pure Word of God.
3. Plain and easy wording.
4. The glory of God.
5. The good of the people.

The reader should study very carefully the original Preface of 1549, written almost surely by Cranmer, called "Concerning the Service of the Church," especially the second, third and fourth sections, and the next, entitled, "Of Ceremonies." The first is a most remarkable criticism, by the most competent scholar of the age, of the old English Church Service in its unreformed days. It is only an epitome, and would require, for detailed explanation, a very prolonged and involved study of contemporary historic documents; but the reader can read through the lines, even though he does not fully understand the meaning of the old Roman responds and verses and anthems and invitatories, all of which tended more or less to displace the simplicity and the spirituality of the service; he can see that Cranmer was determined to cut off everything that confused the worshipper and to bring everything into the service of the Church that was plain and easy to be understood, and would edify spirit and mind. But the second Preface is still more remarkable. It is a revelation of the very heart and soul of the genius of the Anglican Prayer Book. It reveals not the mere mechanical construction, but the very core of the Reformation; the resolve to give to the people of England's Church a free, a spiritual, an intelligible, and a heart-edifying religion.

The reader will find at the end of each Chapter a little supplemental paragraph under the title of "Points for Discussion." These are intended to evoke interest in

subjects which have not been treated with satisfactory fulness and sufficiency of detail, and are put forth as suggestions for further and deeper study.

Points for Discussion

In what sense is the battle of the Reformation never over in the Church of England?

What is really meant by the re-assertion of the spiritual rights of the laity?

In what sense can it be truly said that the Reformation movement in the Church of England was not so much a political or ecclesiastical movement as spiritual and doctrinal?

CHAPTER II

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE EARLY CENTURIES AND THE MIDDLE AGES

IT is impossible to understand the Prayer Book as we now have it without a certain understanding of the early history of the Church of England and of the services in use in the Church in pre-Reformation times. It will be necessary, in the first place, to investigate some of the aspects of the early and later developments of Church Service in England. As the method of question and answer has often been found helpful to the reader, we propose to simplify the subject by using this form throughout the book. The question in each case will open up the subject for inquiry, and the answer will, as concisely as possible, explain it.

As the question is one which perpetually haunts the minds of English Church people to-day, we will at once plunge into the very heart of the matter by first putting this most important question.

What was the Church of England before the Reformation?

In one way this is one of the most difficult and, in another way, the simplest of questions. The Church of England, in name and nationality, was the Church of England. Its title in the Magna Charta was "Ecclesia Anglicana."[1] But it may be said, as far as teaching

[1] Too much stress must not be laid upon the first clause of the Magna Charta as if it meant the Church of England was to be free from the Pope or from the Papacy. That was hardly the meaning of the words. As a matter of fact, it rather meant that the Church of England was to be free *from* the King of England to be free *for* the Pope of Rome. (See *Church of England before the Reformation*, p. 100.)

and order and identity of relationship and communion of life and all the things that make for Christian union are concerned, that for centuries before 1532-34 the Church of England was one with the Church of Rome in communion and in allegiance, that up until 1548 the Church of England was one in ritual and one in worship with the Church of Rome ; that until 1548 the Church of England was identical with the Church of Rome in doctrine. In one word, the Church of England was two Provinces of Western Christendom owing allegiance to the Bishop of Rome in England. (Canon Perry, *English Church History*, I, p. 495). These facts are indisputable.

All the bishops, priests and clergy of the Church of England were bishops and priests of the Church of which the Pope of Rome was the head, and for centuries every bishop and priest at his ordination took this oath: "I, ..., from this hour forward shall be faithful and obedient to the Church of Rome and to my lord, the Pope and . . . . the regalities of St. Peter. The Popedom of Rome . . . . I shall help and defend against all men." For over four hundred years the Archbishop of Canterbury was a Legate of the Pope of Rome, (Perry, I, pp. 145, 161, 203, 205, 209), and the Primate of England governed the Church of England in the name and by the authority of the Pope.

As to the doctrine of the pre-Reformation Church of England, it was the doctrine of the Church of Rome. There was no such thing known as a Church of England doctrine as distinct from the doctrine of the Church of Rome. A simple proof of this is the fact that in all the accusations against the so-called heretics of England, the Lollards and other Protestants, there was never any suggestion that they differed from the teachings of the Church of England or that they taught anything contrary to the faith of the Church of England. The accusation uniformly was : they opposed the sound faith of the Church of Rome. They held an opinion contrary to

that which the Church of Rome preached. They opposed the Holy Mother Church.

And further, and it is a point of importance, all the service books in use in England before the Reformation were with slight variations service books of the Roman Church. That is, they were not, in our modern sense of the word, English Church or Anglican Prayer Books or services. They were substantially identical with those in use at Rome. The Uses—as they are called in our Prayer Book, in the Preface Concerning the Services of the Church—were, of course, the service books, such as the Roman Breviary, the Roman Missal, the Roman Manual, and the Roman Pontifical, with variations in use in the Dioceses of Salisbury, Hereford, Bangor, York and Lincoln.

All these statements can be established by the impartial student of pre-Reformation history, in spite of the fact that a very large number of educated Church people have been led to accept the error that the Church of England before the Reformation was quite distinct from Rome in doctrine and practice. It is true many writers such as Jennings, Hoare, Cutts, Wakeman, following Collier and Heylin, have endeavoured to reduce to a vanishing point the differences between pre-Reformation and post-Reformation Anglicanism. Even such able Church historians as Canon Dixon and Canon Perry, Bishop Stubbs and Professor Freeman, to say nothing of Doctor Frere in his revised edition of Procter's *Book of Common Prayer*, have endeavoured to minimize the differences before and after the Reformation. But the facts of history are more stubborn than the theories of biassed Church writers. (See Hole's *Manual of English Church History*, pp. 109-113, and the writer's *Church of England before the Reformation*, pp. 97-130.)

But was not the Church of England—the Ecclesia Anglicana—through these centuries a separate Church and continually defying, as a Protestant Church, the encroachments of the Pope of Rome?

In origin it was, of course, a different Church. Before the arrival of Augustine (597) and a century or so later of Theodore it was, of course, the British Church, though it is very difficult to say precisely what that was, as we shall presently see. But after the arrival of Augustine, and certainly in the days of Archbishop Theodore (668-709), it was brought into the closest union with the See of Rome. After the Conquest it was practically identified with Rome and, though nominally the Ecclesia Anglicana as denominated in the Magna Charta, it was really the Church of Rome in England. In 1246, a General Council of the Church of England declared that "the Church of England . . . . has always been a special member of the Holy Church of Rome."

But ever and anon—it was the innate old British subconsciousness of liberty—there were rumblings of that defiant spirit against the ever-increasing aggressiveness of the Roman See. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the excesses of the Papal exactions rose to an unprecedented height and the national spirit of the clergy sank to the lowest ebb. With the assumption of the Triple Crown and the claim to dominate heaven, earth and hell, the Pope practically claimed all Church property and the right to rule the clergy with a rod of iron. But with the growing greatness of the Papal pride, there was a consciousness of the growing greatness of England's power, and the old stubborn spirit of the resisting Englishman found its expression in various noble English Churchmen. The tide of Roman reaction, the tide of Roman defiance, reached its high-water mark in the days of Grosseteste (1235-1253) and of John Wycliffe (1350-1384).

But their protests and the protests of such great English Nationalists as Langton and Edward III, great as they were, were rather the protests of individuals than of the Church. Or, to put it more accurately, they were the protests of the State rather than of the Church. Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, 1235, scholar and pre-Reformation reformer, so far from representing the Church of his age, was practically the first of that hero band of spiritually-enlightened men in the Medieval Age who dared to protest against the tyranny and abuses of Papal power. And, as to John Wycliffe, everybody knows that his teachings were condemned as heresies. He was, in the modern sense of the word, a Protestant. The Church authorities upheld everything against which he uttered his protest, and taught as *de fide* everything which he impugned. For the bishops and the clergy all through these centuries, as a body, had little national spirit. Here and there there may have been exceptions, but as a class they, and specially the monastic orders, were on the Papal side. And all through those long years of pre-Reformation protest and groanings and longings for liberation from the Roman yoke it may be said that the Parliament had spirit, but the Church had none.[1] In the modern sense of the word it could not be said that the Church of England was, in any real sense, a Protestant Church. To-day, in its very being, in all that relates to the doctrine, the very principle and character of the Church, the Church of England is a Protestant Church. It is so-called in the Statutes of the Realm. The name of the great

[1] Here again the reader must be referred to volumes of English Church history. But in reading Freeman, Stubbs, Bright, Overton and Dixon, and that fairest of Church historians, Canon Perry, it must be remembered that there is no evidence throughout these pre-Reformation centuries of any intention on the part of the clergy as a body of showing any independence of the Papacy or even any such desire. The idea of such Statutes as the Provisors and Præmunire making the Church of England an independent Church, in the sense in which the Church of England is now independent, was an unknown thought. It never entered anybody's head.

American Church, one with us, and an integral part of the Anglican Communion, is " The Protestant Episcopal Church." But the Church of England before the Reformation was not the Protestant Episcopal Church of England in any sense of the word whatsoever. It was in every sense of the word, doctrinally, and in every other way, the Anglo-Roman Church or the Roman Catholic Church in England.

Points for Discussion

Is it possible, in considering England's defiance of the Papal encroachments in the fourteenth century, to distinguish between the attitude of the State and of the Church ?

Was the State so identified with the Church, or the Church so identified with the State, that the two were practically one ?

How far is it possible to speak of the Church of England as a Protestant Church in the days when it was identified corporately with the Church of Rome ?

From the standpoint of law and order, and in consideration of the prevailing anarchy, how far was the power of the Church a real factor in securing the frame-work of Society ?

Is it possible to trace the growth of the lay opposition to the hierarchy of Rome to the large number of non-resident Italians and aliens in English benefices ?

CHAPTER III

THE SERVICES OF THE EARLY BRITISH CHURCH AND THE GALLICAN LITURGY

THIS is a matter that opens up a most difficult subject of inquiry. It might be put in a question such as this: What were the Services of the British Church before the days of Augustine, and in what did they differ from those of the Church of Rome? The reader must remember that everything in connection with the earliest history of the Church in England is dim and mysteriously indistinct. It is usual for Church writers to speak of the Services and Service Books of the early British or Celtic Church, but really nobody knows what the services were. In fact, nobody knows whether there were any service books at all. For, as Professor Swete says, the Church Books of Celtic Britain appear to have perished in the Saxon Invasion; not a vestige of any one of them is known to exist. (Swete, *Services and Service Books before the Reformation*, p. 10.) It is impossible to say when, where, how, why and by whom Christianity was established in Britain. The whole story is wreathed in clouds of legend, fable, and wistful conjecture. The only thing certain is: that Christianity was established. British Churchmen would indeed be proud to think that St. Paul himself visited Britain, but there is no historical assurance of the fact. The probability is that some of Paul's men, or some Syrian Christians scattered abroad on the death of Stephen, or Bran, the father of Caradoc, the British King, brought their Christianity with them from Rome or Greece or Syria, and that in the various Roman camps, in what is now called England, the name of Christ was

adored. And more, that farther and farther even than that, as Tertullian states, Christians were found among the Britons in Northern Scotland or Wales or even Ireland, in places inaccessible even to the Romans.

These then may be taken as the facts. There was a British Church. The British Church was not subject to Rome, even if founded by Rome, which, in the modern Roman Catholic sense, is very doubtful. The British Church had bishops. The records of the Councils of Arles, Sardica, and Ariminum prove this. (See Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, I, p. 142 ; Bright's *Early English Church History*, p. 9 ; Stokes' *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 11.) It is probable also that it had a liturgy. In fact, it is as probable as any ecclesiastical fact of that distant age.

Was the Liturgy of the Early British Church the so-called Gallican Liturgy, or, at any rate, one identical with it?

It is probable, though not demonstrable, that the Celtic Church or the British Church had a Liturgy. It is probable, also, that that Liturgy was the Gallican, or at all events a Liturgy which was, in the main, similar to, or identical with, the Gallican. It is confidently asserted by many writers on the subject that the Liturgy used in the British Isles before the days of Augustine was of the non-Roman type. But, after all, that is simply a theory. There is not a single British or Celtic Service Book in existence to-day. The theory generally received by Anglicans is that the so-called Gallican Liturgy came direct to England from Asia *via* Gaul, and that, therefore, the Celtic or British Liturgy was fairly independent, genuinely original, and thoroughly national. But a more impartial investigation reveals the fact that this theory, however fascinating to the English mind, cannot be substantiated. If the Gallican Liturgy was of the older type and more conservative than Rome, it is impossible to

delineate these differences clearly. The Church of Rome was too busy organizing itself and keeping in hand its nearer churches scattered in various dioceses throughout the provinces nigh to Rome, to think of troubling itself about the uniformity of remote lands like England and Wales and Scotland and Ireland in the cold mists of the Northern Seas. But whatever the form of worship in the ancient British Churches was, three things can be safely asserted :

First, it was simpler, less involved in ritual, and less tarnished by the accretions of the false doctrine and the lavish ceremonial of later ages. There was, as in the Clementine Liturgy, more prayer and less ceremonial. There was more Scripture and less legend. There was probably more preaching and less ritual.

In the second place, it was largely identical with the Roman Mass Service of that date. The Roman Sacramentary, as it was termed, was, of course, in its earlier stages, without the accumulation of strange and complex ceremonies that, at the time of the Reformation, excited the abhorrence of the reforming Anglican Bishops.

But, in the third place, and this is the real point of importance, the centre of the Gallican Liturgy was the Mass Service with the offering of the sacrifice upon the altar. It is almost certain, too, that the service itself was in Latin, and that a multitude of the practices and ceremonies now unauthorized in the Church of England—such as holy water, incense, the invocation of saints, the invocation of the Holy Ghost upon the elements (called in the Primitive Liturgies, the Epiklesis), the adoration of images and relics, the commemoration, if not the invocation, of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of the saints, and the offering of the Host upon the altar by the priest, with the accompanying ceremonies—all these things were practised by the British clergy and used probably in every celebration of the Mass. The Church of the Angles may have been, in one sense, independent of the Church of

Rome, and it had, of course, as Bede narrates (*Students' Early English Church History*, pp. 24-27), its dissimilar Church customs and its diversity in detail of method in celebrating the Mass. But, in the main, in all essentials, in doctrine and intention, it was identical with the great Sacramental Service of the Church of Rome.

What was then the Gallican Liturgy? Why was it called Gallican, and who wrote it or compiled it?

The question of the Gallican Liturgy is a very tangled one indeed. The Gallican Liturgy was so named because it was traditionally the service used in the Church in France, or Gaul. But whether it was Roman or non-Roman or half-Roman, or the old Roman with oriental additions or innovations, or the old Eastern with Roman additions or innovations, will never be exactly known. On the one hand, the majority of English Church writers seem to incline to the view that:

There was a Liturgy of Ephesus, the ancient Church of the Roman Province of Asia;

This Liturgy was imported into Gaul by the friends of the Church of Lyons, whoever they were; and

That from this Church this traditional Liturgy spread throughout Gaul and became the standard Liturgy of the Ancient British Church.

Maskell, in his *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England* (Preface, liii) accepts this theory somewhat cautiously, admitting that it is even a guess, and says that if it had been brought by converts to the Church of Lyons it would have a character like that of the Ephesian Church. (See Warren, Hammond, Brightman, Palmer, and Procter and Frere, pp. 8, 11, 508.)

On the other hand, one of the greatest of the Roman Catholic Liturgical writers, the Frenchman, Monseigneur Duchesne, in his very able work on *Christian Worship*

(S.P.C.K.), while admitting that the Gallican Liturgy is a very complicated affair, argues that as the influence of Lyons in the fourth century was practically non-existent, and as Milan was the principal centre of ecclesiastical development, it was, in his view, a theory that he supports with great ability, rather of Oriental-Milanese origin. (pp. 92-95.)

The third theory, which may after all be the true one, is that the Gallican Liturgy was simply a localized variation of the Ancient Roman Catholic Mass Service and, if in any way it was simpler, purer, less ceremonial and more intercessional than the Medieval, it was after all just what the early Roman Liturgy was before, say the seventh or eighth century. For, as every reader knows, through the advancing centuries the dominance of the supremacy of Rome was felt to the uttermost in the Western Catholic Church. Little by little, the distant churches lost whatever of independence or national peculiarity they possessed and, one by one, gradually received, with a natural subservience, the order of the great Central Church. By the tenth century there was practical liturgical uniformity, so far as the Mass was concerned, throughout the Western Church and, after the ninth century or thereabouts, the Gallican Liturgy disappeared from Church use, lingering only as a liturgical curiosity.

Points for Discussion

How can the extraordinary domination of Rome in liturgical matters be explained?

How was it that the Latin Church was even more centralized than even the Roman Empire? Can the fact that the Ambrosian Missal became more and more Romanized help to explain the disuse and disappearance of the Gallican Liturgy?

Is it possible to prove that the ancient MSS, such as the *Book of Deer* and the *Antiphonary of Bangor* are anything more than mere local variations of the Roman Use?

CHAPTER IV

THE SERVICES AND SERVICE BOOKS IN THE PRE-REFORMATION ENGLISH CHURCH

IT will be necessary now to discuss a very interesting question, and that is the question of the type of worship that prevailed in the English Church for centuries before the Reformation.

What were the Services and what were the Service Books in use in the Church of England before the Reformation?

It is a very complicated story. There were numbers of service books in the Medieval Church, and, broadly speaking, they were divisible into two main classes:

1. Those pertaining to the Mass;
2. Those pertaining to what were called the Hour Services.

The origin of these Hour Services and of the books used at them is a most interesting study. We have no record that any form of service for the conduct of Divine worship was authoritatively laid down by the Apostles. There is no trace of anything like a definite form of prayer or a definite form of service that can be authenticated as a form or as forms left by the Apostles for the use of the Christian Church. Whatever they might have used, if they did use any, no written liturgical service has come down to us from the Apostles. The services and the service books which we have were a later development. At first they followed very largely the Synagogue

system, with its prayers and praises and reading of Scriptural lessons. The early Christians probably kept the three-fold order referred to in Psalm lv, 17, and evidently kept apostolic habits as referred to in Acts iii, 1; x, 9, that is: 9 a.m., 12 noon, and 3 p.m., as times of regular prayer. As the hours became fixed, the forms became more fixed also, and the service generally ran along the four-fold line indicated by Tertullian, that is:

1. The singing of the Psalms.
2. The reading of the Lessons.
3. The offering of the Prayers.
4. The teaching or preaching.

At a very early period of Church history, these hours were increased, and a system that was, in its inception, of noble intent and sublime purpose came into operation. The impassioned earnestness of the early Christians led them to conceive the idea of perpetual prayer and to carry it out. Great bodies of men and women in every land were to pray day and night without ceasing. The Vigil Services, as they were called, were the meetings at even, at midnight, at the cock-crowing, or in the morning, of those who gathered to watch and prepare for Christ's Second Coming. As the years passed on, these were supplemented by others, especially the prayer services for the commemoration of the beloved and martyred dead. Then, little by little, the services and the service hours became stereotyped into a greater rigidity of devotion. Gradually the laity withdrew into the background, and a body of men and women, known as The Regulars or the Monastics, the men and women who lived in the religious houses, came more and more into the foreground.

In the third and fourth centuries, the rise and spread of monastic establishments was phenomenal. In Western Asia, in Southern Europe, and North-Western Africa, the monastic cult took root and spread with incredible rapidity. Noble in its origin and marvellous throughout

in its spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion, the system, however, had two most serious results. In the first place, it tended to emphasize salvation by sanctification; which was really salvation by religious works. Its whole spirit was opposed to St. Paul's teaching in the Epistles to the Galatians and Romans. Its heart error was the utterly misleading idea that sanctification and the Christian life were only to be attained by a life of separation from the ordinary life of the world and by virginal sanctity. But, in the second place, and it was a more serious development, was the gradual but increasing withdrawal of the laity from the services, and, what was still worse, the gradual withdrawal of the services from the laity. The multiplying of Hour Services, the more important of them being celebrated at one o'clock in the morning and before daybreak, made it more and more difficult for any of the ordinary people to participate in the services. As a practical proposition, participation in the Hour Services was impossible for the laity. And so the very attempt to glorify God by a more devoted and separated life of consecration led to the historical displacement of the people by the monks and nuns, to the inauguration of that practical error of medievalism so ably described by Bishop Moule (*Our Prayer Book*, pp. 8-9) as " Agency worship."

By way of more clearly explaining things to the reader, two very important questions may be discussed here.

First, What were the Canonical Hours?
Second, What were the Service Books used in the Services usually called the Hour Services?

It is very difficult indeed exactly to define the various Hours. They differed in the East and in the West, but little by little the iron hand of Rome unified the whole of the worship system of the West. It was practically universal throughout the Holy Roman Empire, which, of course, included Great Britain. All the ecclesiastics used

to observe, in all the religious houses and in the churches and chapels connected with the Cathedrals and the great monastic establishments, a series of daily services divided into a three-fold arrangement :

1. The Night Hours.
2. The Day Hours.
3. The Afternoon and Evening Hours.

The Night Hours began with Nocturns, probably from midnight to 1 a.m. ; followed by Matins (also reckoned as Nocturns), say from 1 a.m. to 3 a.m., and by Lauds, say from 3 to 4 a.m. or 4-30 to 5 a.m. The exact time would probably differ very much in different places and seasons, the north would differ from south of Great Britain, the winter from summer hours, according to the length of the night and of the day.

The Day Hours were Prime, i.e., from 4 to 5 a.m. in summer, or 7 to 8 a.m. in winter ; Terce, at 9 o'clock ; Sext, at 12 o'clock ; and Nones, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

Then, last of all, came the Afternoon and Evening Services. These were Vespers (sometimes called Lucernaria) possibly at 6 or 7 o'clock, and Compline perhaps at 7 or 8 o'clock, which was the final service before sleeping, for in those days, before the coming of coal, oil and gas and electric lighting, they followed the good old plan of early to bed and early to rise. Of course, it must be understood that these hours are not given as being exact, for although the writer has consulted Roman ecclesiastics on the point, he has not been able to ascertain, with any degree of certainty, what the hours really were.

It goes without saying that the observance of these Hour Services was practically limited to religious persons, i.e., monks and nuns. All the clergy, from as early a date as the eighth century, were bound to observe these Hours day by day and to recite the office at least in private. But it is probable that the rigid carrying out of this continuous

order of daily worship, with all its requirements, was only possible to men and women in the monastic establishments. A devoted parish priest with a large parish could hardly spend so large a proportion of time in his chapel or church. As to the laity, it is unlikely that they ever participated in the Hour Services as a whole, or in any of them regularly.

Now, it was from these multiplied daily services that the very complex system of Hour Service Books developed. As the centuries passed on, not only did the Hour Services become more formal, more complicated and more difficult, but the books that were necessary for the performance of these services and for use in these offices became more numerous and more difficult to follow.

One wonders sometimes what they did all the time and what kind of services they were. One wonders how they managed to occupy the time during so many hours. One tries to think of the time they spent on their knees, and of the times they were standing. And then think of the dreariness and weirdness of the monotone singing. In one word, how did that vast number of men and women pass those prolonged seasons of daily devotion ?

In the primitive stages of monasticism, the time was largely taken up with the recitation of the Psalms, and with continuous and fervent prayer, the Psalms and the Prayers having interludes of hymns and readings of Scripture. In those early days, the elements of prayer, the Psalms and Scripture reading constituted the great bulk of the services. But, as the centuries rolled on, Scripture was largely displaced by tradition, and its simplicity and sincerity by an excess and multitude of fabulous stories and the wildest kind of legends. The complexity also of the services increased. A mass of un-Scriptural, un-edifying and erroneous material crept in. The Psalms which were to have been originally read or sung or recited once a week became, little by little, reduced in number. In fact, as Cranmer lamented, a few

of them were repeated over and over again, and the rest were utterly omitted. As to the Lessons, the glorious words of the Bible, inspiring and inspired, they were not read in a language that was understood. When we hear of the Saxon and other monks knowing Latin, it will be well for us to take this statement with a grain of caution. A great many of them were not as familiar with the Latin tongue as is commonly supposed. But, even so, very small portions after all of the Holy Scriptures were read, and the portions that were read were so interrupted by monotoned anthem sentences that the heart of them, the sequence of them, the meaning of them, could not possibly have been taken in, to any degree of edification.

It was in this way that the books that were used multiplied and, until the end of the eleventh century, the books for these Hour Services were:

1. The Psalter (*Psalterium*). It was the chief and most important, and by many the Psalms in Latin were known by heart.
2. The Latin Hymn Book (*Hymnarium*).
3. The Collect Book (*Collectarium*).
4. The Lesson Book (*The Lectionarium*) which contained four or more volumes in itself, consisting of readings from Sermons of the Fathers, Expositions of the Fathers, Lives of the Saints, and Sufferings of the Martyrs; and
5. The largest and most important volume of all, the *Antiphonarium*. This was a book containing the Antiphons, a kind of little anthem in Latin sung before a Psalm or a portion of a Psalm or a group of Psalms, a performance that was repeated again at the end. It contained also the Responds, a kind of Latin anthem sung by a soloist and the choir after each Lesson, long or short, though these were sometimes in a separate volume called *The Responsoria*.

Of course, as Professor Swete points out (p. 53) it is not probable that all these volumes were found in every

church or in every monastic chapel, because it would not only mean a pile of volumes altogether too great for the proportions of a chancel, but the cost of them alone would be altogether beyond the financial limits of the average church.

In the twelfth century, some commonsense ecclesiastic conceived the idea of gathering this mass of complicated devotional literature into one volume, and this was done. It was called the Breviary; in England, in common parlance, the Portiforium. And though it was not as common for the people in the Church of England in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries to see the Breviary in the hand of the monk or the priest as it is for the people in Rome or in Quebec to-day to see it in the street-car or in the railway train in the hand of the Roman priest, still it was sometimes seen under the arm or in the hand of the English ecclesiastic as he went to his chapel service or passed from the great refectory of the monastery into the chapel for his Hour Service.

The Breviary, in one word, was an effort to compress five or ten volumes into an abridgement. It contained the Psalter, the Hymnary, the Antiphonary, the Collectary the Legendary, with its minor sections of the Sermology and the Martyrology.

Though there were small variations of detail in all the various countries, and even dioceses, the Roman Breviary was imposed upon the whole communion of the Roman Catholic Church and was used in every church and chapel throughout England for generations before the Reformation.[1]

But a question must be inserted here that seems to

[1] The reader who desires to go more deeply into this subject is referred to Swete's *Services and Service Books Before the Reformation* and *Liturgies and Offices of the Church* by Burbidge, which are of the more popular kind; while those who care to investigate the subject in its more original aspects are referred to the works of Cardinal Gasquet, or of Tyler on *Primitive Christian Worship*, and the very able articles in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*.

the writer to be of cardinal importance in the study of the origins of the Prayer Book. It is this :

Were these Services and Service Books then similar to the Services and Service Books which we now have in the Church of England ?

The answer to this question is short and simple. No. They were not. Most decidedly they were not. They were as different as light from darkness. For the reader must remember that when we speak of Services and Service Books, such as those described by writers on the subject, we mean a totally different thing from what we now call Services ; and when we speak of Service Books we mean a totally different thing from what we call Service Books to-day.

A service in the Anglican Church to-day, throughout the world, is a service that is attended by the clergy and by the people and, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, it is a service in which the proportion of laity to clergy is as fifty to one, or as a hundred to one, or even five hundred to one. It is a service that is simple, intelligible, reasonable. It is all in English, and all for the people ; that is, such as all people can join in. But a service before the Reformation was not like this at all. It was what would now be called a purely Roman Catholic Service. It was a service in Latin. It was a monastic service, or a service in an Abbey or Nunnery Chapel, largely attended by men and women who were, in the proper sense of the word, ecclesiastics. There was only one service in the week in the churches and chapels of the Church of England before the Reformation that was attended by the laity, and that was the Morning Mass Service on a Sunday or Holy day. The services which were called the Hour Services, in which the Hour Service Books were used, were most numerous; and they were attended by clerics and acolytes and postulants and the choristers attached to the monasteries and the monastic chapels,

the nunneries and the chapels thereof, the cathedrals and the churches, and the beautiful little sanctuaries attached to almost every castle and nobleman's residence and country gentleman's house in Great Britain. These services, of course, were all in Latin, and (as any one can see who reads even a book like Burbidge's *Liturgies and Offices of the Church*), the glorious simplicity of the worship of the early Church was displaced by a jumble of Latin services. In fact, from early morn to dewy eve, the monkish service was a complex, involved, Latinised jumble of Responds, Antiphons, Legends, Psalter fragments, Creeds, Confessions and, above all, innumerable Prayers to the Virgin, and Memorials of the Saints. They were services of extreme intricacy and perplexity. And, what was the saddest part of it all, they were unedifying, confusing. Men had for so many centuries wandered into the by-paths of un-Scriptural ignorance and superstitious ceremonial that of the many it might be truly said, in the words of our blessed Saviour : " This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips ; but their heart is far from me. In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."

Of course, this does not refer to those devout and loving souls who, amidst all the falsities of the medieval system, found refreshment and strength. It is of the services, as a whole, we speak. And if this indictment seems too sweeping, the reader is once more referred to the language of that expert of experts, Archbishop Cranmer, that profound, patristic and liturgical scholar, than whom probably no man living in the sixteenth century was more acquainted with Anglican Church conditions before the Reformation, when he speaks of the services that had turned into vanity and superstition, grew daily to more and more abuses, unprofitable, blinding the people, obscuring the glory of God, worthy to be cut away and clean rejected, the excess and multitude of ceremonial

being so increased that the burden of them was intolerable. Cranmer's crowning indictment was that if St. Augustine complained in his day that the ceremonial made the Christian people in a worse case than the Jews, what would he have said if he had seen the ceremonies of the Church in England before the Reformation ?

And when we speak of Service Books, of course we mean a totally different thing from any modern Service Book. There was nothing like our Prayer Book before the Reformation. These Service Books were all in Latin. They were richly bound, very bulky, quite costly, written by hand (since it was before the days of printing), and, save to ecclesiastics, inaccessible and unknown. To-day practically every boy and girl and man and woman in the Anglican Church has a Prayer Book at home or in church. But, in those days, the Service Books were the monopoly of the ecclesiastics and a few wealthy and devout lay people.

When we speak of a Hymn in these Hour Services (Burbidge, pp. 126, 130, 133, 140) we must not for a moment imagine that the hymn was anything like a hymn used in our Church of England to-day, such as " Rock of Ages," " Abide with me," or " Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty." A hymn in those days was a monotonous versicle in Latin, sung to a weird and unison plain song tune, by the clerics. Church people, as a body, never sang a hymn, for there was no hymn-or Psalm-singing in the Church till the days of Elizabeth.

And when we speak of the Lessons or a Lesson, we, of course, mean a totally different thing from the Lessons now. In our Church, a Lesson is taken from the Bible and is a Chapter of the Holy Scriptures either in the Old Testament or New Testament read, as a rule, from beginning to end. According to the law of the Church of England, nothing is ordained to be read but the very pure Word of God, the Holy Scriptures. But, alas, in those days a Lesson meant not only a scrap of Scripture, but

oft-times a bit of legendary fiction or of traditional biography, a bit from the life of a martyr or some saint, real or fabulous, and, as a rule, the reading even of that Scripture was no sooner begun than it was interrupted by the reciting or singing of a Latin anthem, a Response, which must have made it as difficult for them to understand the meaning and intention of the Holy Writing as for a soloist in one of our modern churches, who is just about to sing an important anthem, to devote his mind to the spiritual meaning of the Lesson that is being read. And what Lessons! It is hard to believe the nonsense that was read for Lessons. Here, for instance, is the Lesson on the Feast of St. Denys the Martyr, who was beheaded on the seventh before the Ides of October: "He took up his own head, after it was cut off, and walked on with it to the distance of two miles, carrying it in his hands. He wrote many admirable and heavenly books." Or this, on the Feast of St. Francis: "God willed to testify the sanctity of his servant by abundant miracles; of which this is especially famous, that when he was refused a passage over the Straits of Italy by the sailors, with his companion he crossed upon his cloak spread under him upon the waves. After his death, his body lying unburied continued so incorrupt that it even exhaled a sweet odour." (Foye, *Romish Rites*, pp. 301-312). No wonder Archbishop Cranmer uttered his protests against this breaking and neglecting of Scripture by the planting in of these uncertain stories and legends, with a multitude of responds, verses and vain repetitions.

And as to the Canticles. They were, of course, all in Latin. They were, too, in a totally different place and order from our service, and they were liable to almost endless variations according to the day or week or Saints' Day. The Te Deum, for instance, was in the Matins Service at one o'clock in the morning or thereabouts. The Benedictus was sung a couple of hours later at Lauds.

The Magnificat was in the Vespers Service and was crowded in between a mass of antiphons and legendary material very like that referred to above. The Nunc Dimittis was at Compline and the so-called Latin hymns came apparently anywhere and anyhow. There was not a trace apparently of the apostolic idea of I Cor. xiv, 14, 15, 16, 40, that if we pray in an unknown tongue, our spirit prays, but our understanding is barren, or that intelligence should be the rule of all devotional service. There was such a lack of order, of intention, of spiritual sequence: Responds following legends, canticles following memorials, creeds and confessions apparently coming in anywhere and anyhow in these bewildering and generally impossible services. But worse than that, there was, as the centuries passed on, a crowding in more and more of false teaching and erroneous practices. The adoration and worship of the Virgin Mary, which was unknown in the first five centuries, became a very great part of the worship of the Medieval Church from the twelfth century on. It began to occupy more and more prominence in the Hour Services. Confessions to the Virgin, Prayers to the Virgin, Adoration of the Virgin, Memorials of the Virgin, became more abundant and, in addition to the regular Hour Services, separate services called "The Hours of Our Lady" were said before and after the Hours of the Day. (See Littledale's *Plain Reasons against Joining the Church of Rome*, pp. 53-77). And, of course, Prayers for the Dead, Invocation of Saints, Confessions to the Saints, the worshipping and adoration of Images and Relics and all that body of Romish teaching repudiated by our Church in Article XXII as grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God, were scattered more or less throughout all the offices. In fact, the more seriously we study, with open eyes and unbiassed mind, the pre-Reformation monastic and ecclesiastical literature, the more we are amazed at the extraordinary spiritual

skill that enabled our Reformers to discard the mass of unedifying and un-Scriptural elements, and extract from this complicated and bewildering medley the beautiful elements of the services now enjoyed by the people of England's Church.

But there was another and a more important class of Service Books. These were the books that were connected with the Service of the Mass. The other books, as we have said, were used by the ecclesiastics, by what were called "the Regulars," the religious, the people whose lives were passed within monastery, convent and abbey walls and, before the Reformation, forming a considerable part of the people of England. But the central and only service, for centuries, that was attended by the people of England's Church was that great service called "The Mass," and for the conduct of that service the priest had to have several books.

What were the books upon or near the altar in the Anglo-Roman Church, used by the priest for the celebration of the Mass?

Until the twelfth or thirteenth century, there would have been found upon the altar, or near it, from five to nine separate books, more or less cumbrous and heavily bound, and all of them in Latin.

There was, first of all, the Missal, the Mass Book proper. In the very early days, i.e., from the fifth to the ninth centuries, this was known as the Sacramentary. There were three or four good specimens of it. There was the reputed Sacramentary of Pope Leo (Pope of Rome, 440-461), which was probably the original. Then there was the traditional Sacramentary of Pope Gelasius (492-496), which represents the same Roman Mass Service with certain additions and modifications. Then there was the Sacramentary of Pope Gregory (596-604), which was referred to by Pope Hadrian about the year 790, and, as the Gregorian Sacramentary, became the basis of

nearly all the Mass Services of the Western Church, including the Church in England. This Mass Book contained two great sections. In the first were what were called the Variable Parts of the Mass, or Ordinary of the Mass, such as the prefaces and prayers and chants and Epistles and Gospels, and all the things that were to be changed with the various seasons and various Sundays of the ecclesiastical year. But the most important part by far, the very centre of the book, was what was called the Invariable Part of the Mass, known everywhere in the Roman Church as The Canon Actionis, the great act of the offering of the Eucharistic Sacrifice by the priest. From the days when Augustine landed in Kent, 597, or certainly from the days when the great Archbishop Theodore dominated, with his imperial sway, the Church in England, 669-689, the Mass Book of every priest in every church in England contained substantially the same form for the offering of the Mass at every altar. Under various names: Missalis—Missale—Missa—Meese—Mass—Solemnia Missarum—the Mass Book was the most essential of all the Service Books for what used to be called the Mass or Massing Priest.

For the reader, of course, will remember that the Mass Service was the legitimate product of the sacerdotal ideas that sprang into such great prominence in the days of Tertullian and Cyprian. It was largely owing to the masterful mind of Cyprian that there was substituted for the simpler Christian worship of the Primitive Church, founded upon the Synagogue system of prayer, praise, preaching and reading of the Word, the stately fabric of Roman sacerdotalism. It was in Cyprian's time and Cyril's that the transfer of the Jewish system of priest, sacrifice and altar, to the Christian Church, furnished those terms and standards that culminated, in after centuries, in the spectacular service of the Mass, which had its centre in the false doctrine of transubstantiation, and its ritual in the ceremonial offering of the sacri-

fice upon the incense-wreathed altar. While the formulated doctrine of transubstantiation was not adopted until the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215, the practical acceptance of the theory of re-presentation, transmutation and the offering of the oblation which, by the recital of the words of institution, became there and then the actual Body of Christ, was universal throughout the Western Church. And in ever-increasing volume, complexity of ceremonial, crossings and kissings and genuflections, incense and candles and prayers for the dead, invocation of the saints and prostrations continuous, and Mariolatry with extraordinary developments of intercession and offering, became more and more the prominent features of the service of the Mass, displacing the original service of the Lord's Supper with its two great features, a Memorial feast, and a Communion.

But, in addition to the main book, known as the Mass Book, the priest had to have near at hand upon the altar or near it, a book called the Ordo. This would be called, in modern parlance, the Rubric Book. It contained all the directions that were necessary for the conduct of the service on the various Sundays and the multiplied Saint days and Feast days throughout the year. It was a very complicated and a very difficult book to master, but it was indispensable. Then there was another book known as the Lectionary. This contained the parts of the service that we would now call the Epistles and Gospels, and sometimes there were two distinct volumes, one known as the Epistolary and the other, the Evangelary. As these were not in the simple order and all together, as in our Prayer Book to-day so that the layman or clergyman can find them in their proper place in a moment, but were in two different volumes, there was also another book known as the Comes, sometimes called (let us hope not humorously) the Liber Comicus, which was a sort of index book enabling the priest to find out what was the proper Gospel and Epistle for the service

of the day, a task that was involved and fairly difficult for the clever and learned, but almost hopelessly difficult for the dull and unlearned, as Cranmer pointed out in his Preface.

But, in addition to that, there was a book that was of primary necessity and that was the Mass Book known as the Antiphonary, and sometimes called the Cantatory. This was the collection of the various musical portions of the Mass. The reader will remember, of course, that the whole service from beginning to end was practically a musical service, the parts that were not being sung, as we would now call it, being intoned in a monotonous musical note. But certain parts of the service were sung, such, for instance, as the Gloria in Excelsis, the Ter Sanctus and the Angus Dei. As the centuries passed on, and the Mass became more and more complicated in its ritual, it became more crowded also with the anthems and musical settings, more and more elaborate and monotonous. The musical parts varied in various dioceses. In York, for instance—and Yorkshire from the beginning has been famous for the love of music—the musical sections were far more numerous than in the south.

Then it was the custom, between the Epistle and Gospel, to have an elaborate anthem, and the so-called Introits (sometimes called the Office), or short Psalms or portions of Psalms sung at the beginning of the Mass. These musical portions of the service were sometimes contained in two additional books: The Grayle, the English form of the Latin Graduale, and the Troper.[1] The Troper itself became, as the years passed on, a somewhat bulky volume as the chants or musical portions of

[1] The reader will gain a clearer idea of the meaning of this by reading Procter and Frere, pp. 16 and 46, and Swete, pp. 100-105. Though it is somewhat difficult to understand the place and purpose of these musical works without a somewhat practical acquaintance with the whole of the Mass setting, this can be gained from such a book, for instance, as *The Leofric Missal*, by F. E. Warren, Oxford, 1883, or Dodds' *Ordinary and Canon of the Sarum Mass.*

the Mass Service, sometimes called Sequences, increased.

For centuries no one seemed to think of incorporating these various Service Books into a single volume, but, about the time the Breviary became the epitome of the various Hour Service Books, the Missal, say about the twelfth century, began to have bound up with it some of the other books, though even this compendious Missal, as Swete points out (p. 105), did not supersede the necessity of separate books for the Epistles and Gospels and for the musical portions of the Mass.

For us, in these days, accustomed to a little book that a child can hold in its hand, or the simple service that is found at every prayer desk and on every Communion Table, it seems almost impossible to grasp the number and variety and complexity of these old Latin, handwritten and illuminated volumes. Nor is it possible for us to enter into the difficulty of the ordinary parish priest, every Sunday and Holy Day, in his endeavour to untangle the knotty problem of the order of the service for the day and the fitting in of the variable elements of the Mass, which had to be inserted in their proper place after most careful consultation with the Ordo and the Comes. When the worship of the Virgin Mary came in the service became still more complicated and one can imagine the difficulty of the priest during the month of May when the hymns and anthems and various elements of devotion were crowded around her worship.[1]

[1] The writer feels that he must draw attention to what he considers to be a misleading style of statement in many of the books that have been written upon the Prayer Book, and, in fact, in almost every book written upon the subject, and that is this: That the Missal of the Gallican Church or the Sarum Missal of the Church of Rome in England was the pre-Reformation counterpart of the Book of Common Prayer, or: that the Order of the Holy Communion corresponds to the Mass of the Sarum Use. The writer thinks that this is possibly not intentionally but certainly a very misleading line of thought. The Holy Communion of the Church of England is the Lord's Supper. The Mass of the Church of Rome is not, nor can it in any true sense of the word whatsoever be called the Lord's Supper. It is a totally transformed service, lacking in all the essential elements

Were these the only Service Books or, as we would now call them, Prayer Books in use in the Medieval Church?

No. In addition to these books, there were other Service Books in use before the Reformation not for the monastics (called popularly the "Religious" or the "Regulars"), but for the parish priest in his pastoral work, and for the Bishop in his episcopal office. The chief one was the Manual, which contained all the services usually called the Occasional Offices. Sometimes it was called the Pastorale or the Rituale. It had the Baptismal Service; the Marriage Service; the Visitation of the Sick; the Burial of the Dead; the Churching of Women; and also many forms now abolished in the Church of England—the service for the Anointing of the Sick, and other matters.

Then there was a book called the Processional, a prominent book in its way before the Reformation, when, on all sorts of occasions, processions of the choir and of the people were such a great feature of the pre-Reformation Roman worship. Surpliced boys and vested men, with lighted tapers and holy waters and banners and relics and swinging censers, passed in procession through the church-yard, around the aisles, up the nave to the rood, singing in monotonous unison the Latin anthems and versicles which were the chief, if not the entire, contents of the Processional.[1]

of the Lord's Supper, and crowded with doctrines and ceremonies unknown in the original service instituted by our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. (See the author's *Holy Communion of the Church of England*, 1923.)

[1] Swete, pp. 172-74. Gasquet, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 54 and 253. "The solemnities of the procession in and about the Church and the perambulations were fine diversions. The priests went before, in their formalities, singing the Latin Service and the people came after, making their good-meaning responses." In the reaction of the early days of the Reformation, few things seem to have excited the animosity of the Reformers so much as these Processional Services, with the holy water, the palms and ashes, and incense. In one fell swoop they were all swept away.

And last of all, there was the Bishop's Book, known as the Pontifical. In the pagan days of Rome, the Pontifex was, of course, the heathen priest and the highest Pontifex was called "Pontifex Maximus." As the Roman Church, after Constantine's day became more and more paganized, this title was transferred to the Bishop of Rome who was, after that time, universally styled, in the Roman Service Books, Pontifex, or, in its English form, Pontiff. The volume that was used by the Bishop in his episcopal duties was known as the Pontifical and it contained all sorts of services now abolished by the Church of England. One of his constant duties was the Benediction of Altars, Shrines, Crosses, the Ashes for Ash Wednesday, the Palms for Palm Sunday, the Oils for use in the Baptismal and the Unction Services. All of these services, which were called Benedictions, were also contained in the Pontifical. Then there was the Confirmation Service which was, of course, utterly different from our service to-day for it was performed for infants, children and other baptized persons, consisting of the signing with the sign of the Cross, and the touching of the forehead with the Chrism oil. The Pontifical also contained the Ordination Services for the Ostiars, the Lectors, the Conjurors, the Acolytes, the Sub-Deacons, the Deacons and the Presbyters and Bishops; with benedictions and installations of abbots and abbesses; and the complicated service for the benediction and consecration of nuns. It can be seen then that all these services made the Pontifical of the Bishop a somewhat ponderous and complicated volume. To-day there is no authorized Book of Offices for the use of the Bishops as a separate order. Bishops and clergy use what all church people use. The ploughman and the prelate alike have the same book, the Book of Common Prayer.

This, then, is the real point. With the exception of the small, non-essential and trivial variations of ritual

and order and such minor matters, the Mass Service, as conducted for centuries in St. Paul's Cathedral or Westminster Abbey or in every parish church throughout England, was identical in doctrine, ritual, intention and object with that conducted in St. Peter's, Rome, or in every church in France and Italy. It was in Latin; a Latin Service from beginning to end. It had the identical form and teaching of the Mass Service. Its centre was the offering of Christ upon the Altar by the priest. Its doctrine was that of the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar, that by Christ's Words spoken by the priest, " the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, as conceived of the Virgin Mary, is present really under the form of bread and wine; and after the consecration there remaineth no substance of the bread or wine nor any other substance, but the substance of Christ, God and Man."

Let us take an illustrative comparison to explain this more clearly. The Prayer Book of the Church of England in Canada, which was revised from 1911 to 1921, and published in 1921, contains a vast number of differences from the Church of England Prayer Book. But these differences, several hundred in number, are largely differences of detail, and rubric and form. Such, for instance, as the variations in the Tables of Lessons; the Sentences; the Rubrics; the extra prayers in the Litany; additional Prayers and Thanksgivings; verbal changes in the Collects; additional Offertory Sentences; adaptations of the Confirmation, Marriage, Burial, Visitation, Churching and Commination Services; Tables and Selections of Proper Psalms; additional services for Missions, Harvest, Institution, and Inductions; Family Prayers; and much needed alterations of sentences, such, for instance, as the substitution of the word ' clergy ' for ' curates,' of ' living ' for ' lively,' and so on, and so on. But, with all these hundreds of variations throughout the Book, the substance of the Canadian Church Prayer Book

is identical in everything that is real, essential and Anglican, with the Prayer Book of the Church of England, and especially with regard to the Holy Communion. In spite of the addition of the Lord's Words after the Ten Commandments and the insertion of the Rubrics authorizing the singing or saying of " Glory be to Thee, O Lord," " Thanks be to Thee, O God," and the adaptation of some of the Rubrics and the addition of certain Offertory Sentences, the Communion Service is absolutely identical, in everything essential, with the Communion Service of the Church of England. And so it was in England's Church before the Reformation. The Mass Service in St. Paul's, London, was identical, in every essential, with the Mass Service celebrated by the Pope in St. Peter's, Rome.

As this point is of importance, it will perhaps be helpful to point out that Maskell, in his *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England* (p. vi) shows that the numberless variations which distinguish the services of one Church from the other, consist of different prayers, of the different arrangement of these prayers, and of different ceremonies. Then he goes on to illustrate this. He says that the differences between, say, the Diocese of Ely and that of Sarum, would be perhaps that Ely would take the Mass Service of Sarum as a whole, but adopt, in some parts, the musical setting of the Use of York. Or Hereford, let us say, might arrange or re-arrange, for its own convenience, the musical settings of the Sarum, Lincoln, York or other Uses and make these up into a new Diocesan Use for itself. Maskell lays stress also (p. xiii) upon such minor variations as the location of the Psalm, the verse after the Graduale, or the order of the Introit, the Psalm, the Sequence and the Post Communion, in the Uses of Sarum and of York. He also takes as another instance of variation in these Diocesan Uses, the fact that the Graduale, the Secreta and the Lections differ in the Mass of the two Diocesan Service Books.

As a matter of fact, the Sarum Use, which was the Mass Service used most extensively in England's Church for some centuries before the Reformation, was simply the form of the Roman Liturgy used in most parts of England. For from the time when Augustine landed in Canterbury, or most positively from the time of the dominance of Archbishop Theodore, 697, in every true sense of the word, the Roman Mass was celebrated in every church of the Church of England until 1548. Every Office and every Use in every church, chapel and cathedral in England, from that time on was Roman, the only variations being the variations that were common in every country of the Holy Roman Empire and in every Diocese in Britain, France, Italy and Spain. For, as we must repeat once more, as far as doctrine went, or what we call Church teaching, a difference between the doctrines of the Church of Rome and the Church of England was never thought of, much less spoken of. And as far as discipline was concerned, and orders, there was no difference at all. There was but one Pope, one bishop, one priest; the Pope and bishop and priest of the Holy Church of Rome. Since 1549-51, the Church of England has discarded the Roman Ordinal, and the Ordination Service of the Church of England is so totally opposite to that of Rome, both as to the "Signum Sacramenti" and the "Res Sacramenti," that now the clergy of the Church of England are not priests in the Roman sense of the word, much less priests of the Church of Rome. As late as 1896, a Bull was sent forth "*Ex Cathedra*," by the Pope of Rome, in which it was declared that from the Roman standpoint the Orders of the English Church are invalid so that no bishop or clergyman of the Church of England is accounted a true minister of Christ by the Church of Rome, nor has he any authority to administer the Sacraments. And as far as worship was concerned, in all the essentials, in the use of the various books—the Breviary, the Manual,

the Pontifical, and all the minor volumes annexed to them—and, above all, as far as the great and unique Sunday Service of the Church was concerned, there was not any difference, save as we showed in small matters of absolutely non-essential detail, between that of the various Dioceses of the Church of England and that of the Holy Roman Catholic Church of which the Pope was the only spiritual head. For during the Middle Ages, the only idea of the Church of Christ in men's minds was its oneness and its visibility. The idea of an independent national Church, owing no allegiance to the earthly head of the Church, the occupant of Peter's See, was utterly inconceivable. The relation of the Church in England before the Reformation to the Church in Rome was identical in every respect with the Roman Catholic Church in the Province of Quebec to-day and the Roman See. See that remarkable historical work, Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, and read especially the eighteenth chapter, in which he discusses the imperial unity of Rome, and read Cardinal Gasquet's work on *Edward VI and The Book of Common Prayer*, in which he says: "The study of Liturgy can be pursued usefully and fruitfully only on those rational methods which should govern all historical investigations."

Points for Discussion

What were the real reasons for the early departures from the simplicity of the Lord's Supper?

Was not the complexity of the medieval forms a logical necessity of the monastic regime?

How was it that the political spirit of British nationalism did not extend to a greater spirit of independence in things ecclesiastical?

Could it be said that the nobler features of the monastic cult counter-balanced its obvious defects?

CHAPTER V

THE PRELIMINARY NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENTS

BEFORE we take up the more immediate origins of our Book of Common Prayer as we now have it, we must emphasize for a brief space the state of the times in which it emerged from the complexities of a Church's chaos. We must visualize the times and the state of the times prior to and conditioning its emergence. The Prayer Book was the climax of a long series of complicated ecclesiastical movements and national issues; issues which were ordained of God and directed by the governance of His controlling Spirit through the character and achievements of Scripture-taught and Spirit-led men. For during the eras which have been commonly termed by historians, the Dark Ages, there can be no doubt that as far as the masses of the people and the majority of the leaders of the Church of England were concerned, "darkness covered the land, and gross darkness the people." From the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, religion in England sank to a very low ebb. A great number of the clergy were simply worldly, covetous and, alas, oft-times immoral priests. The tone of clerical life, as a whole, was earthly. Its character was in many cases sensual; its pride incredible. Though it is hard for us to understand it, as it is to understand the degradations of our own clergy in the eighteenth century, a fair and just reading of the history of the time compels us to accept the fact that the lives not only of many of the monks and

friars, but of even bishops and clergy, were immoral, low and wicked. Religion had sunk so low that the formality and artificiality of the services was a scandal to all serious-minded men and women.

What, then, were the stages through which the Church and the nation passed to reformation ? They were three. First of all, what might be termed the politico-national. For at least three centuries before the Reformation, there had been slowly rising a great tide of resistance and revolt against the increasing claims of the Papal Supremacy. It was certainly a rising tide, and more and more the nation was aroused, in a spirit of politico-ecclesiastical revolt against the outrageous claims of the Papacy. Beginning with Langton and Grosseteste, it came to a head in the preparatory work of the first great reformer in the English Church, John Wycliffe, and obtained its finality in that spirit of national independence, through Henry VIII, that finally gave England riddance of the supremacy of the Pope in all things spiritual and temporal. But the second movement was of still deeper significance. It will, of course, be remembered that Wycliffe leaped into fame first of all as a nationalist. In his treatise, *De Dominio Divino*, he laid the incontrovertible foundations of England's resistance to the claims of Rome, by his theory of ownership. And though, from that time, the monks and friars, the priests and prelates, were as a whole against him, the Commons and the country as a whole were on his side. It was, after all, the masterly work of John Wycliffe that gave to the Pope his first death-blow and led to his expulsion from England's Church in 1532-34.

While the advancing tide of national political resistance was rolling deep and strong, supported by the sense of stubbornness and self-reliance in the average Englishman, that great international movement known as the Renaissance was opening the way for another aspect of the Reformation of the English Church. In its essence, the Renaissance was a revolt against the dogmatism of

the medieval theologians, and an escape from the prison doors of ecclesiastical tradition. It was really a revival intellectual and literary, a revival in philosophy, art and criticism. It was not a religious movement. While it had indeed a real religious effect and, later on, swung into the great river of spiritual reform, in the beginning it was chiefly literary and philosophical. Its originating date is usually taken as 1453, when the Fall of Constantinople and the Eastern Empire set free the forces of the literature of Greece and Rome and gave an amazing impetus to Western scholarship. Its salient feature and real dynamic was the Greek language. Synchronizing almost with the discovery of printing, and the printing of books which evoked the ardour of the young men of Europe, this marvellous language, designed by God to be the basis of all religion and science, became, through the Greek Testament, the primary fulcrum of the reformation of Europe. Throughout its first and second periods, the spirit of the Renaissance, the rebirth of humanity, was largely humanistic. Humanism was its key-note; culture was its ideal; knowledge was its objective. While it could hardly be said to be the forerunner of the Reformation in one sense, that is, as far as its spiritual and liturgical aspects are concerned; in another sense it had much to do with it. It was a kind of parallel current. In Southern Europe, it shone rather as a brilliant star of art, science, classic literature and philosophy, under such brilliant names as Lorenzo de Medici, Machiavelli and Ariosto. It never seems to have passed beyond the sphere of humanism.

In what ways, then, did the Renaissance prepare the way in England for the Church's transformation?

Chiefly in two ways. In the first place, the more thoughtful and serious mind of the Briton inclined him constantly to religion, for the English mind had not been

corrupted by the debasing moral and religious influences of the Papal court. In the second place, it was through the influence of the most brilliant of the Continental leaders of the Renaissance that the New Testament in Greek was brought out in 1516. The influence of Erasmus on the nation and on the Church of England can hardly be over-rated. His New Testament, published in 1516, can be taken as the mark of a new era in England's Church. It was an epoch-making as well as an epoch-marking volume. An astonishing number of young Englishmen began to study Greek. And when the young men of a day, for they are the prophets and promise of an epoch, become in earnest about anything, something is sure to happen. Erasmus' Greek Testament not only encouraged them to learn Greek, but it opened to their amazed eyes the truth as it is in the Word of God. For the laity, with a few exceptions, knew nothing of the New Testament. The Gospels and Epistles in the Mass were intoned in Latin, and were practically unintelligible to the mass of the people. The New Testament, as a whole, to the mass of Englishmen was an unknown book. One can imagine then what happened in England when Erasmus undertook to give the book in Greek to those who were able to read the original, and, for the average student, a Latin translation with a few practical comments intended to bring out the real intention and meaning of the book, in a more modern form. The object in view was to bring home directly to the reader, the substance and thought of the divinely-inspired writer and this, after all, was the supreme factor in the beginnings of English Prayer Book reform, for it revealed to the astonished eyes of England's Church leaders what the New Testament religion and worship really was. The subsequent works of Erasmus, though not directly religious, also played their part in preparing the way for an international reforming movement in the Church. His *Praise of Folly* and his *Dialogue of Julius* probably did more to bring down the vast

upas-growth of superstition and to expose the sham of ecclesiastical immorality than all the preaching of the pulpits could have done. (Froude's *Erasmus*, pp. 119-168).

And more. The work of Erasmus found its echo in the humanistic and reconstructive work of the great English Church literary and ethical reformers, such as Grocyn, Linacre and, above all, of Colet, that sweet and gentle spirit, the founder of St. Paul's School, and a man whom Englishmen should delight to honour. Though a fine preacher and an earnest Bible student and teacher, his great life work was his great School, his own creation and endowment. These men and the ecclesiastics who were in sympathy with them, such as Morton, Warham, and Wolsey, and Fisher, and More, who caught a little of the light of the new culture, and were swept into its current, never seem to have even glimpsed the meaning of real reformation. They saw, through the flashlight of the exposures of Erasmus, the evils of the Church. They were strong for a reformation of the morals of the clergy, but they never got beyond the idea of education and moral reconstruction. Their conception, through the awakening of knowledge, the decay of credulity, was after all, at its best, a desire for a reform of things IN the Church. It was a reform in the Church by the Church. They never seem to have attained to the vision of a spiritual reform of the Church; a RE-formation of the Church's system of worship and doctrine.

What, then, was the real source of the liturgical and doctrinal reformation?

The Renaissance was a mere side eddy in the grea religious life of England. It was a mere parallel stream. The main tide was that religious and spiritual movement which had its initial spring, its main source, in the reforming genius of that great English Churchman, John Wycliffe. In 1382, the foundation of the Reformation was laid by the translation of the Bible into English. It

is a great date in English history. The Bible was now to be in the hands of the people. The Word of God, though possessed of course by few, was working. Though there is little evidence of Wycliffe ever having undertaken the work of a liturgical reformer, there can be no doubt that his ideas became the working basis of the Church Reform Movement of the Reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. And though the teachings of Wycliffe were, in one sense, private opinions, the unauthorized and, in that day, the heretical views of an individual—"false and erroneous, most wicked and damnable heresies," as the Church declared—within two hundred years, what the Church in England called heresy and burned men for believing, became the authorized doctrine of the Church of England. The private opinions of the man became, in the marvellous providence of God, the teaching of the Church. For the world was awaking out of the deep sleep of the Middle Ages. The leaven of the Renaissance, through science and art and discovery and travel, was widening the thoughts of men. It was an age of free trade in ideas and reading. The mass of the clergy still remained wrapt in slumber, and the somniloquisms of the Papacy in many quarters were undisturbed (Isa. lvi, 10). But the brightest and best of the sons of the morning, both amongst the clergy and the scholars of the day, were receiving the new ideas with an avidity like that of a long-starved hungry man. The schoolmaster named Truth was abroad. In England, the night of medievalism was fast coming to a close, and the reign of Henry VIII witnessed the dawn of new ideas, larger views, and truer thoughts. For at the back of all the discontents and the desires and the dreams of that wonderful day for the Church of England, when the younger men were seeing visions and the older men dreaming dreams, lay the open Bible. It was the Bible that caused the Prayer Book. It was the translation of the Bible that was the cause of the formation of the Prayer Book.

1536 brings us to the great and honoured name of William Tyndale, an Oxford scholar, who gave to England the New Testament in English. At the close of that same year, the Tyndale-Coverdale Bible was printed by the Royal Press. A year later the Tyndale-Coverdale-Rogers Bible (commonly known as the Matthews Bible) came forth, and was known as the Mystery Bible. And then, as the crown of that great epoch, there was printed and published, 1539-40, that famous Bible of such interest to all Prayer Book students, " The Great Bible " or " The Cranmer Bible." The reader will remember that though Church people as a rule, and Church teachers, speak of this as Cranmer's Bible, it was not Cranmer's Bible at all. So great a scholar as Bishop Westcott thinks Cranmer knew nothing about it. In those days it was called the Cromwell Bible because, as the Chancellor and Secretary of State, he authorized it. It was also known as The Chained Bible, because it was set up in every church in the land and fastened by chains to the lectern or some pillar or post. It was called the Cranmer Bible because it was brought out again, in a second edition by Coverdale, and Cranmer, as the Archbishop of Canterbury, appointed it to be used in the churches, with a short Preface or Prologue. It was called " The Great Bible " because it was great in bulk, great in cost, and, as Anglicans, we may gratefully add, great in influence, a potent fact throughout the history of our beloved Church. A very important part of it still stands in its entirety in the Prayer Book, the Coverdale translation of the Psalms, and in other places in the Liturgy.

No human being can ever estimate the silent but widespread effect of the scattering of the seed of the Word of God in the field of England's Church. In an age that was restless and perturbed, and the minds of English Churchmen were wearying of Italian tyranny, superstition and formalism, they were led to God's open Word. The lay people of England learned at first hand, in the inspired

pages of the Bible in their own language, those great principles of truth that underlay all Church reform. There can be no doubt that it was the Bible translated, and published, and read, that led to those desires and determinations that transformed the worship system of the Church of England. Everything in its own order. The Bible first; then the Prayer Book. The Bible was the root, our Prayer Book the fruit.

In the year 1498, Erasmus—writing to a friend on the Continent from England, where he was staying on a visit—said that "the number of young men who are studying ancient literature in England is astonishing." Twenty years later, he might have written that the number of young Englishmen who are studying Greek and the Greek Testament is astonishing. For, about ten years later, a little band of the most brilliant of the younger clergy of the day used to meet in the University of Cambridge for the purpose of Bible study. And amongst those who thus met were at least four or five of the men who were on the first Prayer Book Compilation Committee. It is only as we understand this, and read beneath the lines of the ecclesiastical movements of the day, and see the real reasons and purposes of the men who were foremost in the construction of the Church of England Prayer Book, that we can understand truly the wonder of the work that, by God's grace, they were enabled to accomplish for England's Church in after years.

Points for Discussion

In what sense could Erasmus be termed a Church reformer?

What value is to be attached to his polemics as a caricaturist?

How can the spurious historic inferences of the Romanizing School, with regard to the pre-Reformation Church, be best met?

Has the vital connection between the translation of the English Bible and the formation of the English Prayer Book been sufficiently valued?

CHAPTER VI

THE AGE IN WHICH THE PRAYER BOOK WAS COMPILED AND THE MEN WHO COMPILED IT

WE purpose now to glance at some of the preliminary steps to the compilation of the Anglican Prayer Book by a discussion of the age in which it was compiled and of the men who compiled it. We will then proceed to an investigation of the materials of compilation; the plan of compilation; and some of the sources of suggestion in the compilation of the Prayer Book.

What were the most distinctive characteristics of the age in which the Prayer Book was compiled?

In discussing the age in which the Prayer Book was compiled, it must be remembered that it was the great formative age of the Church of England. From it emerged, in the brief space of three crowded years, the masterpieces of a nation's liturgical reform. It was supremely an age of unrest and independence. Two great tendencies were at work. They were as "when the winds of heaven strove upon a mighty sea"; the one, destructive; the other, constructive, or rather, reconstructive. From the ecclesiastical viewpoint, the tendency of the age became more and more revolutionary, and, in every department of thought, the progressives were in the ascendant. The discovery of printing, the diffusion of books, the circulation of works on theological controversy, the study of the classics, the revival of learning, the daring criticisms of Erasmus and More;

all these things were working together for the demolition of the doctrinal and ecclesiastical fabric of medievalism. Every year gave freer and freer course to the diffusion of the most novel and liberal opinions. It was an age when everybody was reading theology, and, as the main book read was the Bible, antipathy to superstition acquired a strength that is almost inconceivable to-day. In England it received an added force from the long-smouldering fires of resistance to the alien Pontiff of Rome and centuries of national unrest. An independence and an originality were abroad, and even ecclesiastics of the most conservative school dreamed dreams of transition that would have been impossible a century before.

The other age-tendency was constructive or reconstructive. Its tendency was to build anew and to reshape the expression of the thoughts and devotional aspirations of men. On the Continent, in France and Switzerland, this tendency ran rather to the doctrinal mould. In Germany and England, it inclined rather to the liturgical, though the liturgical was the direct result of the doctrinal. In England, the constructive school was represented by two sections: the Conservative and the Reforming. The Conservative School leaned strongly to the old, and its ultimate was merely an adaptation and revision of the old Service Books. Ecclesiastically, their desires leaned in the direction of the most moderate reform. Their idea was the lopping off of a few extremities, the curtailment of excrescences and abuses, ethical and ecclesiastical. Liturgically, their plan would have been the mere adaptation and revision of the Missal, the Manual and the Breviary, and their desires would have been satisfied with a translation into English and an abbreviation for popular Church use. Even such Romanists as Bonner and Gardiner would probably have gone so far, and a man like Bishop Fox, who caught the contagion of the new movement to rather greater extent, would probably have gone further.

The Reforming School had a far higher and wider range of Anglican reform. They saw a goal beyond that of the reform of the morals of the clergy, or of the Church system. It was not mere reforming, ethical, educational or ecclesiastical, that they dreamed of. Their desires went much further. It was truth in doctrine; truth in worship. It was the abolition of superstition, the restitution of the doctrine of Christ, that was their ideal and objective. With their eyes upon the pages of Holy Scripture and their wills dependent upon the Holy Ghost, with the daring and independence of Englishmen and Churchmen, they laid their hands to the plough. And in the marvellous providence of God, as we shall subsequently see, the *re*-formation of the Church of England in worship and doctrine was accomplished. There were three progressive lines of accomplishment and, by the grace of God, there followed in succession:

1. The separation of England's Church from Rome;
2. The reform of the Church's ritual and worship;
3. The reconstruction of the Church's doctrine.

But, throughout, the eyes of the reconstructive leaders were fixed not towards Rome, but towards the Church of the Apostles. If antiquity had its charm for them, it was not Roman antiquity, but Primitive; and their desire was to go back, not a thousand years, but one thousand five hundred years. Their ideal was not to recover the Primitive Church ideals of the fifth or sixth centuries, but to go back to the mind of Christ, the order of His Apostles, and the use of the earliest ages of the Primitive Church.

But a more important question concerns the personnel of the men who were the instruments, in God's hand, of the great liturgical change in England's Church.

Who were the men who compiled the Prayer Book? What was the animus that impelled them and the objective they had in view?

The men who compiled the Prayer Book were mainly the Bishop-Reformers of the Church. They were the Compilation Committee proper. Of these, the two most prominent were Cranmer and Ridley and, of these, Cranmer was the chief. In fact, it is almost safe when one is in doubt as to who is responsible for anything in the Book of Common Prayer to attribute it to Cranmer. He was the Prayer Book compiler *par excellence*. As a body of men they were small. But though small in numbers, they were strong in conviction, daring in determination, and intense in earnestness. And, on account of their position and learning, they were potent in influence. That explains how it was that "the reformation of the Church of England was effected by comparatively few individuals acting against the authority of the Church, both East and West, and going back to the Word of God to draw from it the pure doctrine of the Gospel of Christ." History is really the story of the operation of influence, and if we desire to know what a body of men will do, what they will produce, what they will compile, we must penetrate to the secret sources of their ambitions and desires, and first find out what were their ideals and objective, and why. It must also be clearly understood that they were all of them brought up in the traditions of medieval religion. By birth and training they were all loyal to the Church of their day. They were all imbued with its sentiments and, in every way, familiarized with the prevailing religious atmosphere. This must be taken as a starting point of thought. And more. As Roman Catholic scholars they were deeply learned in Roman ritual, Canon Law, and in every detail of theological controversy. In all things connected with the Roman Service Books, Cranmer was a past master, and

Ridley an expert. Strype, in his *Memorials of Cranmer*, refers to the Archbishop's profound learning in Divinity and in the details of liturgical and scholastic controversial literature. "There was no book either of the ancient or modern writers, especially upon the point of the Eucharist, which he had not noted in his own hand in the most remarkable places; no Councils, Canons, Decrees of Popes, which he had not read and well considered. . . . He was a slow reader but a diligent marker of whatsoever he read, seldom reading without pen in hand, and, above all, his supreme study was the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures."

It must be remembered also that they were men who were gradually led to abhor with a singular and fervent detestation the falsities of Rome, and what they were accustomed to term, in very trenchant language, "the abominations and falsities of the Mass." But, while their hatred of the false was intense, all that was best and purest in the ancient worship was known and loved by them, and was willingly and gladly retained in the English Prayer Book by men who had known and loved these things from their youth up.

Two other matters in connection with their personality must also be considered. They were men who became more and more in sympathy with the Continental reformers of both the Reform Schools. As the years went on, they more constantly co-operated. In fact, in the providence of God, one of the epoch-making and epoch-marking events of the Reformation of the Church of England was a visit of Cranmer to Nuremberg in the year 1532. He seems to have been a sort of Ambassador from England to Germany and was in the Emperor's following when he went to Nuremberg to confer with the Elector of Saxony. It was during this visit that Cranmer's curiosity was excited by the novelties of the Lutheran Church service, which he closely observed and criticised. He noticed that while the priest read the Epistle in

Latin, the Sub-Deacon, at the same time, went into the pulpit and read the Epistle in the vulgar tongue to the people; and while the priest said the Gospel in Latin, in a suppressed voice, as in the Mass, in the meantime the Deacon went into the pulpit and read aloud the Gospel in the people's tongue. So there came into the mind of this great Anglican liturgiologist, the germ of the tentative efforts of reform which he afterwards inaugurated so successfully in the Church of England. While in Nuremberg he lodged at the house of one of the German Reformers, Osiander. He afterwards married Osiander's niece, and naturally, therefore, took an intimate interest in Osiander's great liturgical work (Brandenburg-Nuremberg-Agende) which became the model upon which many of the succeeding liturgies (over one hundred and thirty in number) were constructed.[1] While the Anglican reformers, men with remarkably open minds for that age, received a large number of very valuable suggestions from the Lutheran Service Books and, in some portions of our Prayer Book, used them very freely as models, it is a most remarkable fact that Cranmer and his fellow-labourers exercised a strong spirit of Anglican independence and ploughed their own furrow very freely. Cranmer was far from being a mere copyist.

But, above all, they were men who were evangelically illumined. They earnestly sought the help of God's Spirit, and the leading of the Word of God. It was that Word that led them to comprehend the darkness, and to realize that the worship of the Church of England which had once, long, long, long years ago, been simple, spiritual

[1] The reader who desires to be familiarized with the relation of the Lutheran movement to the tentative developments of Prayer Book reform during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI should read *The Lutheran Movement in England* by Jacobs, and study especially Chapters iii and xvii. Bishop Dowden in *Further Studies in the Prayer Book*, in the second chapter, has some very valuable observations on the influence of the liturgical reforms of the Lutheran writers upon our Prayer Book.

and Scriptural, had become, through the indefinite complications of the ages of darkness, superstitious and false. As we shall subsequently see, the various phases of progress of the compilation of the Prayer Book were due to the growing spiritual enlightenment of England's Primate. As he himself confesses in that great confession : " After it pleased God to show unto me by His Holy Word a more perfect knowledge of His Son Jesus Christ, from time to time, as I grew in knowledge of Him, (that is, of Jesus), by little and little, I put away my former ignorance." (Cranmer on *The Lord's Supper*, Park. Soc., p. 374.) In that famous sentence you have the secret of our Prayer Book. Revolve that sentence until it sinks into the very soul. It is the explanation of the Church's renovation, and of the origin of our Prayer Book.

Points for Discussion

Is not the conservatism of the Anglican Reformation explained, in a measure, by the national temper of aversion to change ?

The influence of Ridley over Cranmer, and the effect of Latimer's conversion on them both.

To what extent did the association of Cranmer with Osiander and the German liturgics influence the form and substance of our Prayer Book ?

CHAPTER VII

THE PLAN OF COMPILATION
THE GENESIS AND GROWTH OF THE PRAYER BOOK IDEA

WE are now in a position to enter upon one of the most important questions that can occupy the mind of the earnest student of the origin and evolution of the English Church Prayer Book. And that is, the gradual growth in Cranmer's mind of the ultimate plan of the Prayer Book.

What was the plan of the Prayer Book in the minds of its first compilers? What did they desire to do? Had they a plan? If they had a plan, how did they work it out?

Our Prayer Book was not formed in a day or a year. In fact, it is doubtful whether any one will ever know the exact process of its formation. The study is one of the tantalizing mysteries of history; a subject of intense interest, but disappointing and baffling in many of its phases. We know that the compilers of our Prayer Book were more than mere ecclesiastical critics and liturgical revisers. They *were* critics. They *were* revisers. But they were more than that. They were men who were gradually being led by the Spirit of Truth from strength to strength; from light to light; from narrow to wider plans. As builders for God and the Church, they were being led from story to story without knowing the ultimate aim of their scheme.

For this is certain.

The plan of the Prayer Book was not like an architect's scheme, definitely and completely drawn. It was a growth. It was a very curious and intricate growth, forwarded and hampered by many political and ecclesiastical complications. At first, there seem to have been only vague dreams, shadowy visions, strange longings. It grew out of a chaos of awakening desires, gradually growing into more definite conviction, and shaped by the process of events and the hand of a provident God into a final and definite form.

When Cranmer and his associates in the work of Prayer Book compilation started out first in the path of liturgical reform, it looks as if their objective was little more than a mere vaguely conceived resolve. They were swung into the current of a great national transformation. Voices were clamouring all around. A restlessness of desire was taking hold of the more intelligent laity. The vague resolves to secure, for England's Church and the English people, the rights of the laity were becoming stronger and stronger. Gradually these longings and desires were shaped in the minds of Cranmer and his associates, into the concrete form of three great objects.

The first was to nationalize the worship of the Church. That is, to make it English, to adapt it to the English people. It was foreign. It was all in Latin. It was not fitted to the requirements of the English Church and the English-speaking people. Whether The Gleam came to Cranmer before or after or during that visit to Nuremberg matters little. But stronger and stronger grew his conviction that it was necessary to Anglicanize the service of England's Church. It must be wrested from Rome and the priest. It must be restored to England's people. It must, in the right sense of the word, be British, not Italian ; Anglican not Roman.

Their second resolve was to popularize it. That is, the service had been transferred, during the course of the ages, from the nave to the chancel. The part played by

the people in the service before the Reformation was practically nothing. The service was the ceremony of the Mass performed by the priest and his assistants and the chancel choir. The people gathered to look on, to see what was done, with the eyes. As one of the greatest Bishops of our Church has said: "They were gazers, peepers." They were mere spectators of a religious performance. As the days passed on, Cranmer seemed more and more determined to bring back to the people their primitive right to participate throughout in the public worship of God. It is a historical fact that, from the beginning of all the efforts at liturgical reform, the idea of securing the congregational rights of England's people was the foremost plank in their platform of liturgical reform.

But their highest and supreme objective was to spiritualize and Scripturalize the service. That is, to divest it of the elements of traditional fallacies, of unintelligible formalities and of doctrinal superstitions and falsities. As they grew in conviction—for there are throughout the signs of a slow but steady progression—and one by one doors were opened, their convictions became more settled, and the supreme desire of their hearts became more and more manifest in the resolve to secure for England's Church and England's people, a simple, Scriptural and spiritual worship. During these progressive days, Cranmer's position was not that of a temporizer halting between two opinions; now inclining to Rome, now to Lutheranism, and now to Reform. His position was rather that of an honest experimentalist; and, from 1532 to 1552, there was a slow but steady progress. It was that of a man groping at first for the Light; then growing in the Light; and then guided by the Light.

Starting then from these three great general objects, little by little, the plan took shape, and as Cranmer came into contact, from time to time, with the ideals and productions of the Continental reformers—Spanish-Roman

and German-Lutheran and Swiss-Reformed—it was slowly carried on to its ultimate conclusion. But the reader must remember that when we speak of a plan, and of Prayer Book compilation, we are speaking entirely in modern terms. We are endeavouring to express for the modern reader what was the gradual form of the historic evolution of our Prayer Book. But, of course, only the broad outlines can be stated. The details unfortunately cannot be historically ascertained.

Broadly speaking, the plan may be viewed in three or possibly four stages.

The First Stage.

The first stage was the broad and general idea of reformation. And the basis of this was dissatisfaction with the old Anglo-Roman services. This dissatisfaction was based upon the growing conviction of their utter unfitness for English Church people in the service of the English Church, and their uselessness in many ways as far as edification was concerned. At first there seems to have been no thought of abandoning the old services, although they did feel their unfitness. Their first thought was simply that of subjecting them to a rigorous inquisition and expurgating them of every possible remnant of superstition. In fact, even the Roman reactionaries, the Catholic obscurantists of the days, came to admit that it was a necessity of the times to have the services in English. In one word, Cranmer's first idea seems to have been that of a translated or a revised Roman Service. He would retain the old; but he would cut off the Roman excrescences and abolish the more useless and un-Scriptural portions of it, removing those elements that were becoming more and more irritating to minds enlightened by the study of the Scriptures.

The Second Stage.

The second stage was a distinct advance upon this. It was the more definite idea of a reformed service; a service with more Scripture and less tradition, with more English and less Latin. There was still no idea of an Anglican Prayer Book, as we would now call it. There was no idea at all of an independent English Service. The time for that had not yet come. And it is probable that, in this stage, the efforts at reforming the Roman Services ran along the line of the work of the Spanish reformer, Quignon,[1] and still more of the German reformer, Martin Luther. In both the work of the Spaniard and of the German there was the common aim, the introduction of more of the vernacular, and more of the Scripture. It must be remembered that before the Reformation there was practically no Scripture in the English Church. For what there was, was all in Latin; and even that was reduced to a minimum of unsatisfying scraps and verses. It may be safely said that the laity of the Church practically never heard a word of the Bible, and that the clergy and ecclesiastics generally heard very little of it. The Scriptures had been dis-

[1] Cardinal Quignon was a most remarkable man. Of noble birth, a Franciscan monk, a Roman Cardinal, a Minister of State, he became the first of the forlorn hope of Spanish reformers. Owing to the reflex influence of Luther's work and the general stirring up of the religious life of Europe, there was a strong desire for reform in the inside circles of the Roman Church and, in 1535, Cardinal Quignon, with the full authority of the then Pope, published in Spain a Reformed Roman Breviary. Considering its source and its imprimatur, it was a most remarkable volume. In the first place, it swept away entirely the complex system of antiphons, responds and legends, which was, at that time, the main substance of the Roman Hour Service Books. But in the second place, with a daring that seems incredible in a Spaniard, he determined not only to sweep out the false, but to make way for the Bible, and have a formulated system of real Scripture reading. But, alas for Quignon, who was a man far in advance of his times, neither Rome nor Spain was ready for such radical reform. His Reformed Breviary was nipped in the bud by Rome. It was cancelled and forbidden, and he died, in 1540, as Bishop of Palestrina.

placed by the planting in of myths and legends and responds and vain repetitions. Fragments of Scripture were begun but, like some rivers in South Africa that terminate suddenly in the sands of the desert, they were stopped, and all the rest of the book was unread.

Now Luther changed all this. And Quignon certainly tried to do so. For Luther's work in Germany, introducing more Bible and cutting out more tradition, was probably the initiating impulse of Quignon's work in Spain. Its distinguishing feature was this. It excised what we might call a good deal of the dead wood of the Roman Breviary, and abridged many of its more objectionable features. That is, it cut out the absurd stories, the mass of traditions and myths, the stupid and ridiculous legends of the martyrs and of the saints. But the main object was the introduction of more Scripture for the people.

But whether influenced much by Quignon, as Bishop Dowden thinks, or much more by Luther, as others think, it is certain that Cranmer in this initial stage of Anglican Prayer Book reform determined to introduce a formulated system of real Scripture reading. In the British Museum, among the Royal manuscripts, there is still to be found, in Archbishop Cranmer's own hand, the draft of an arrangement for a plan of Scripture reading that afterwards became that unique system of daily Bible reading in the Church of England, with four or five lessons in consecutive order throughout every day in the year.[1]

Whether the ideal of Germany, through Osiander, Archbishop Hermann and Melancthon, with its popu-

[1] English Church men are indebted to the work of the Roman Catholic Prelate, Cardinal Gasquet, for his original researches in this matter. The writer confesses his indebtedness to Cardinal Gasquet and his valuable work, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*, for the main ideas of this chapter. The second and third chapters of Gasquet's work on the Prayer Book deserve the attentive reading of every student of the history of the Prayer Book. In no other work has such light been thrown upon the original developments of our Book of Common Prayer.

larized and Scripturalized service and its plan boldly and freely carried out, or the ideal of Spain, with its calendar and table of Scripture lessons, was the basis of the liturgical reform of Cranmer will probably never be really known. But there can be no doubt that when they passed through the formative mould of the mind of the Anglican reformer, they came out in the concrete of the Prayer Book on fairly original lines. During this second stage of the Reformed Breviary on Scriptural lines, it is possible that the German-Lutheran idea, exercised through the working of the Holy Spirit, exerted a very strong influence upon the mind of Cranmer. For it must be remembered that long before Quignon, the Spanish reformer, put into shape his dream of a revolutionized Roman Breviary, Luther, the German, had not only dreamed the dream, but done the work.[1]

The Third Stage.

The third stage was what might be called an abbreviated, adapted, and popularized Breviary. That is, there was gradually growing, in the mind of the practical English Church man, the idea of the utter uselessness of services intended mainly for priests and monks, and the impracticability of these Latin services for English people. The people, the children of God, needed the Word of God and the worship of God. Cranmer felt that it was utterly out of the question for the people of the Church of England to worship any longer along the lines of the Roman

[1] The reader is referred here to that very admirable book by Bishop Dowden on *The Workmanship of the Prayer Book*, and his treatment of the influence of Cardinal Quignon's Breviary on the Prayer Book. (Chap. I, pp. 17-24.) Bishop Dowden shows that some of the very sentences, if not paragraphs, of Cranmer's Preface *Concerning the Service of the Church*, are in the very words of Cardinal Quignon or else slightly modified translations. But there is no evidence that the Spanish Bishop was animated by the spiritual desire of the Anglicans, or that he ever conceived the idea of such a Scriptural, spiritual Service as ours is. However, his efforts and aims, as a Roman ecclesiastic, were certainly remarkable.

Offices or the Roman Mass. His vision was that of a service for the people, or anyway of a service that the people could attend. Take, for instance, Matins. This was a midnight service. "Wherein they were wont to rise at midnight to Matins"—"For every night at midnight they, with the Vicars Choral, would rise to Matins, and especially the Domydary, that is, the weekly officiant, would be the first." (Gasquet, pp. 10-55).

Now, Cranmer's idea of Matins or a morning service was one that would not be for the clergy alone, but for the laity also. So, when and where and how will probably never be known, there came before the mind of Cranmer an epoch-making vision. It was the vision of a people's service, instead of monkish services in the Monastic Hours. To his practical Englishman's mind it was utterly out of the question to gather the people seven or eight times a day for the purpose of worship. If they could be gathered twice a day, it was the most that could be expected, even for the clergy. Therefore, to have two services, one for the morning and one for the afternoon or evening, was all that could be expected, and for this he began to work. Herein lay the Anglican independence of the Archbishop. Herein lay the English originality of his work.

Is it possible to discover at this stage of Cranmer's efforts in Prayer Book compilation, the exact shape of the ideal he was hoping to attain?

The exact shape? No. But, as far as can be ascertained, the ideal in the mind of Archbishop Cranmer at this stage worked out somewhat in this fashion:

1. Reduce the seven or nine offices or services to two, and have only a morning service called Matins, and an evening service called Vespers. That is, strike out Prime, Tierce, Sext, Nones and Compline as useless and impossible services for the laity. After all, they were full

of vain repetitions, and there was very little that was distinctively valuable, from the spiritual standpoint, in any of these minor services.

2. Have certain parts of the service in English. That is: let the people have at least the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and the Lessons in their own mother tongue. Bear in mind that the idea of a people's service, in our modern sense of the word, was at that time practically unknown in the Catholic world. Latin was the language of the Church. Latin was compulsory the world over. If the services, therefore, were to be popularized, the initial departure must be the introduction of English.

3. Have a new service for Matins, extracting from the old services for Matins and Lauds the very best, most Scriptural and most edifying. Cranmer's original ideas seem to have been something like this:

(1) The Lord's Prayer, in English.

(2) Domine Labia Mea (The 'O Lord, open thou my lips'), in the singular as it was in the first Prayer Book (1549).

(3) A Latin Hymn. (Gasquet gives a very interesting account of the hymns that were intended to be used in this preliminary scheme of Cranmer's. There were twenty-six of them, five of which are not to be found in the *Sarum* Breviary.)

(4) Three Psalms (apparently to be recited in Latin).

(5) "Our Father" (to be recited in English).

(6) Three Lessons (these readings from Holy Scripture were to be in English).

(7) The Te Deum and the Benedictus, in Latin.

(8) The Salutation and the Prayer, in Latin.

The Evening Service called Vespers was to be practically along the same lines, except that the Magnificat

(in Latin) was to be used in place of the Te Deum and there were two Lessons instead of three.

4. Have a new Lectionary-calendar. Up to this time, nothing perhaps showed so clearly the liturgical independence of Cranmer as the drawing up of the calendar. From the standpoint of Catholicism and antiquity, it was indeed a novelty, and it showed that Cranmer had enough English individuality and enough Christian originality to break away entirely, for the sake of Christ and His Truth, from the ecclesiastical traditions of a thousand years. He abandoned, in one daring resolve, the cumbrous scheme of Catholic procedure in connection with the Lessons, and drew up a plan for the reading of the whole of the Bible to the whole of the people, throughout the whole of the year. As Cranmer himself tells us, in the original Preface of 1549, "Concerning the Service of the Church," this was the original plan of the early Fathers, but through the Dark Ages this grand ideal was entirely broken. A Book of the Bible was begun; three or four chapters were read; and then, no more. Myths and legends and verses and responds and all kinds of unintelligible Latin material crowded the Bible out. The daily and regular reading of the Bible was Cranmer's scheme, and a standardization of the whole ecclesiastical year. Sunday and week-day, Saint's day and ordinary day alike, were to have two chapters from God's inspired Word. It was a very great innovation. In the Roman Church, Genesis introduced the Lenten season. But Cranmer determined to begin the Bible with the beginning of the year. So he brought on Genesis in the month of January, and our wonderful system of daily and regular reading of almost the whole Bible yearly is original, and probably peculiar to the Church of England. No one can doubt that this great scheme of continuous and uninterrupted Bible reading by the people of the Church of England is one of the main sources of the loyalty of the Church of England people throughout the world, in

the main, to the Truth of God. The daily reading of the Bible is the glory of the Church of England.[1]

The reader will now be able to see the germinal idea present in Cranmer's mind during this formative and tentative epoch. He will see how the mind of this trained Roman liturgiologist was being used by God to evolve gradually a system of worship that would attain its finality a few years later in the Prayer Book of the Church of England as we now have it. But in that initial stage, the originality of Cranmer's work is seen in his very definite grasp of the great features of the Book of Common Prayer of to-day: The Bible and all the Bible, for all the people, every day of the year; the prayers of the people in English, their own dear native tongue; and two services for the people of England's Church, instead of seven or eight or nine for the priests and the religious.

The Fourth Stage.

At last there came, when and how we do not know, in the dawn of a fuller light, the Vision Splendid. It was the glorious idea of one Prayer Book in English; that peculiar glory of the Anglican Church from that day to this. The idea of having all the Church Services in one book not for the priest alone, but for the people also. It may be safely asserted that when Cranmer first started out on the path of liturgical reform, his primary idea was little more than that of revision or adaptation, not compilation. Even when the second stage was reached, it is doubtful whether there was even then the anticipation of such a thing as the production of a new work, a Church

[1] It may interest the reader to know that in the Prayer Book of the Church of England in Canada provision is made for the reading of the Bible every day in the year. In the Church of England, during the months of October and November, certain portions of the Apocrypha are appointed to be read for the first Lesson, morning and evening. But in our Church in Canada provision is also made for the reading of the Bible so that clergy and laity alike will find a Scripture Lesson for every day in the year.

of England Prayer Book for the Church of England people. That was a totally new thing in the Western Catholic world. The boldest minds did not conceive it. But in divers ways Cranmer's mind was gradually led to the production of a new Anglican liturgy. As we shall afterwards see, in its first form, it was in a very crude state, and very unlike the Prayer Book that we have to-day. It was unlike it in form, unlike it in doctrine, unlike it in ritual; though there is good reason for believing that the doctrine of the second Prayer Book was in contemplation even before the completion of the first.

We see, then, how our Prayer Book was the culmination of many years of liturgical gropings and desires. The dreams and visions that flitted through the minds of Cranmer and his fellow Churchmen, men whose visions were ever set forward, as they were led, as it were, by God's pillar of fire towards the Reformation of England's Church, found their finality in the Book of Common Prayer. As far as the Anglican Church was concerned, it was practically a new conception. It was a totally novel thing in the Catholic world. It was not an adaptation of the old. The old passed away. It was buried, never to be revived. It was the reconstruction of the New out of the Old.

Points for Discussion

Is there any possibility of ascertaining the exact amount of material that Cranmer found in Quignon's *Breviarium Romanum Imper Reformatum* of 1535?

Discuss the question of the possible value of the daily Latin Services to the English ecclesiastics, from the spiritual and intellectual viewpoint.

In what sense can the earlier efforts of Cranmer be said to exhibit Anglican originality?

CHAPTER VIII

THE INTERMEDIATE HISTORIC DEVELOPMENTS AND THE LATER YEARS OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII

WE shall now take up the thread of the historic developments, and dwell upon the links of the great chain of developments throughout the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. We shall dwell upon the workings and movings of the Spirit of God, through the desires and dreams of the leaders of the nation and of the Church, and we shall see how the Spirit of God was moving upon the face of the national chaos. It was as if His Word was saying: "Let there be light." For all the intricate political, ecclesiastical and international complications of these complex reigns were slowly working out His great plan in the *re*-formation of the Church of England as a National Church.

What were the outstanding events in these latter years that led directly to the transformation of the Church, and the beginnings of the Prayer Book as we now have it?

The initial and most momentous event in the epoch-marking reign of Henry VIII was the renunciation of the Papal supremacy and the absolute separation of the Church of England from the Church of Rome as a national and independent ecclesiastical body. Of course, the reader must be again reminded that, at that time, the Church of England was as absolutely identified with the corporate life of the Church of Rome as the heart is with

the life of the body. No section of the Roman Catholic Church in the first part of the sixteenth century was more thoroughly Roman and Ultramontane in its corporate life than the Anglican Church. A century and more afterwards, Bishop Burnet, a most sagacious and open-minded Church historian, declared that England was more subjected to the See of Rome than any other part of Europe, and that Henry VIII was the most devoted to the interests of Rome of any King in Christendom. A most devoted Papist, Henry VIII came forward, in 1521, as a public champion of Romanism against Luther, by writing a Treatise entitled: *The Assertion of the Seven Sacraments as Against Martin Luther.* For this, he received from the Pope the title of "Defender of the Faith," a title ever since held—but with what absolutely different meaning—by every English king.

The complex story of the divorce, which brought down poor Cardinal Wolsey and precipitated the downfall of the Pope in England, is a matter rather for the secular historian. The point with which we are immediately interested is the fact that it led, first of all, to the re-assertion of the long-championed principle of the English Constitution; that the clergy and bishops were to be amenable to the jurisdiction of the State, displacing the Pope thereby from the throne of ecclesiastical dictatorship. In the second place, it led to the declaration of the King's supremacy over the Church and the abolition of the bishops' and priests' oath to the Bishop of Rome. And, in the next place, it led to the sundering of England and Rome by the Pope's Bull of Ex-Communication. England and the Church of England were finally separated from Roman jurisdiction. And the clergy, in Convocation (May, 1532), pleaded, in their address to the Crown, that the King's Most Noble Majesty might be pleased to ordain that the obedience of him and of his people be withdrawn from the See of Rome. (Perry, II, p. 79.) And it was withdrawn.

The Church of England was now free with the freedom wherewith Christ made her free (Gal. v, 1.), that is, ecclesiastically. The mighty stone of the Papal usurpation and the Papal supremacy had been rolled away. The first step to the reviving and loosing of the Church from its tomb of the Dark Ages had, in the providence of God, been taken. As Bishop Jewel says in his great work, *The Apology*, which contained the authoritative teaching of the Church of England, " We have departed from that Church . . . . as Lot left Sodom or Abraham Chaldea." (Bishop Jewel's Works, Park. Soc., p. 146.)

Significant events followed now in rapid order.

In 1533-35, a number of Bishops were appointed of decidedly Reform convictions. In fact, it was the sign of a new order. It was like the sound of a going in the tops of the mulberry trees ; a sign that men were bestirring themselves, and that new thoughts, new emotions, new desires, were awakening. The significance of these appointments as concerned the leadership of the Church of England for the next twenty-five years was indeed momentous. Latimer, that most outspoken and popular of England's preachers, became Bishop of Worcester. Goodrich, who was on the First and Second Prayer Book Compilation Committees, was appointed Bishop of Ely. Barlow, whose consecration became a matter of such historic importance, became Bishop of St. David's. Fox, one of the most brilliant men of his day, King's Almoner and Secretary of State, described as the wonder of the University and the darling of the Court, whose early death in 1538 was one of the mysteries of Providence, was appointed Bishop of Hereford. All of these men threw their conscious and unconscious influence upon the side of the reforming principles which were gaining headway every month in England's Church.

In 1534, the preliminary step of liturgical reform was initiated by the King himself. It was, in its way, a somewhat small way. But, in its ultimate results, very large.

It was this: that the name of the Pope of Rome should be erased from every Office Book or Mass Book; a work of marked significance from the Protestant or anti-Roman standpoint. At the same time, the clergy were commanded to be silent on the subjects of purgatory, image worship, pilgrimages, and to preach the Scriptures and the Word of Christ.

And then came that marvellous epoch-making event, the Bible in English; and the Bible in England's Church. It was indeed a step forward. It was in 1534 that Cranmer pressed, in Convocation, for a translation of the Bible. Even at this early date, his master bias was towards the Scriptures. Indeed the motto of his career might have been epitomized in these words: The Bible first; the Bible in English; the Bible for the people; the Bible in England's Church. It was to this resolve of Cranmer, under God, that we owe the preparedness of England and England's Church for the re-formation of the Church of England in the reign of Edward VI. For the reader will recall that up to this time it was a penal offence to have a Testament in English, and it is probable that for years after 1536-40, the mass of the Bishops and clergy had as great an aversion to the Bible as before. To many of them, a vernacular Bible was the parent of all damnable heresies. And yet—wonderful to say—it was the Lord's doing and is marvellous in our eyes—in 1536 the whole Bible in English, the work of William Tyndale, the Martyr, and Miles Coverdale, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, was put forth by the King's authority, with his famous words: "If there be no heresies, then, in God's name, let it go abroad among our people." There can be no doubt that this translation and publication of the English Bible was the seed-bed of the changed system of Anglicanism, or, as one of our leading historians expressed it, "the stone on which the whole later history of England, civil and ecclesiastical, has been reared." If the Bible had never been published, the Prayer Book

had never been compiled. We hold that as an axiom.

The next year, 1537, the Matthews Bible came out, which was really the Tyndale-Rogers-Coverdale Bible. It was, in substance, the first edition of that famous Bible, known as the " Great Bible " or the " Cromwell Bible," brought forth in 1539. Nowadays it is called the " Cranmer Bible," because it had a Preface by Archbishop Cranmer, with the words: " This is the Byble apoynted to be used in the Churches." It has been familiarized to millions of English Churchmen throughout the world ever since by its version of the Psalms, and other portions of the Prayer Book, such as the Comfortable Words and the Canticles.

In what other ways during these years did the actions of Cranmer and the King contribute towards the progress of Church reform?

Little by little, the way was being prepared; step by step, the Church was moving on. Like a blind man, it seems to have been guided in a way that the leaders knew not, and to have been led in paths that they could not have known. As the years passed by, darkness became light, and the crooked things were made straight before them. The strange thing was that the King, who was so bigoted a Romanist, should have been led in what might be called an almost Protestant path of advance. His motives at the time were partly political and partly ecclesiastical, though the uppermost thought at the time seems to have been to get away from the Pope's ways and words. So, in his stubborn desire to depart from the Pope, he was led to advance very strongly in what might be called the Protestant direction.

In 1536, owing largely, doubtless, to the influence of the Archbishop, a series of Articles of Religion, known as " The Ten Articles," came out. The King, as well as the Archbishop, had a leading hand in their composition (Hardwick, *History of The Articles*, pp. 39-41), but they

were revised by a small Committee, and adopted by Convocation. The publication of the Ten Articles was one of the most remarkable of the pioneer achievements of the reign of Henry VIII. They were formulated to represent the doctrine and teaching of the Church of England and, considering the time, they were a very remarkable evidence of the declaration of the doctrinal independence of the Church. It was probably the first time in history that a particular or national Church asserted its right to ecclesiastical private judgment with regard to the Church of Rome. Of course, they were not like the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England to-day, nor have they any authority whatever as a formulary of the faith. But, as an index of what was passing in England, as a barometer showing the set of the times, they were indeed remarkable. They distinctly set forth some of the fundamental principles of the Church of England to-day ; while, on the other hand, as far as the doctrine of the Sacraments is concerned, they asserted Rome's teaching as later stereotyped in the Tridentine Articles. In many ways they were outspoken in their protest against the corruptions of the Papal system ; and the most curious thing of all is that these Articles were put forth by the King and many of the Papal Party in the hope that they would serve as an antidote to the spread of the new or reformed opinions ! As a matter of fact, they had the very opposite effect. By taking the revolutionary position that the national Church had a right to formulate its own teachings, they broke the spell of Roman Catholic tradition ; and inserted into the lump of the Church's thinking a leaven that slowly began to leaven the whole of the Church. They made men think and question. And so, unconsciously, the body of the people were beginning to open their eyes to see the meaning of Romanism and Popery.

Another unconscious aid to the furtherance of the Church's Reformation about this time was the publica-

tion, in the year 1537, of a volume known as the *Bishop's Book*, and, in the year 1538, of another called *The King's Injunctions*.

The *Bishop's Book* was known as *The Institution of a Christian Man*. It was called the *Bishop's Book* because the King did not care directly to give it his royal approval, as he did the Ten Articles of Religion. It was a little too Protestant and advanced in the Lutheran direction for him. But his Prime Minister, as we should now call him, that extraordinary man, Thomas Cromwell, was at the back of it. The three men most prominent in its compilation were that brilliant man, Bishop Fox, the King's Chaplain and Almoner, and Secretary of State; the brave and outspoken Bishop Latimer; and, above all, Archbishop Cranmer. In the Committee that compiled it, the discussions seem to have been very lively. In fact, it looked at times as if no agreement could be arrived at and the work would never be completed. Cranmer and Fox were the leaders in the discussion, and when the book was ready it was Bishop Fox who undertook to superintend its printing. But Latimer says that the main praise is due to Cranmer—"Bona pars laudis optimo jure debetur." The clever way in which the King dodged his responsibility and let it come out without his authority, further than its issuing from the press of the King's Printer, is told in *Cranmer's Letters*, p. 337 (Park. Soc.).

The Institution was a very large book and very mixed in its teaching, both from the Protestant and Roman Catholic standpoint. It was like the prophet's two baskets of figs: one basket with very good figs, the other basket with very naughty figs that could not be eaten, they were so bad. For instance, it taught the Seven Sacraments and the merit of the saints exactly as the Church of Rome. But, on the other hand, it left out Saint worship, and its teaching on the Church, the Catholic Church, was almost as clear as in Hooker's incomparable *Ecclesiastical Polity*. The reader may judge

this from a few of its most famous sentences: "I do believe that the Church of Rome is not, nor cannot worthily be called the Catholic Church." "The unity of this One Catholic Church is a mere spiritual unity." "The Holy Catholic Church is—all the faithful people of God—the very mystical Body of Christ." Wonderful, wonderful teaching, when we consider the time.

Right on the heels of *The Institution*, there came out, in 1538, the other very remarkable publication known as *The King's Injunctions*. *The Injunctions* were anti-Roman in tone, and really, in some ways, quite evangelical in teaching. They represented the high water mark of the advancing tide of English Church reform up to this date. They set free principles which were bound slowly, if not swiftly, to undermine the overmastering power of Rome. Their inevitable effect was to break the spell of the Anglican veneration of Romanism, to bring deliverance to the captives of traditionalism, and set at liberty the bond slaves of Rome. When they appeared, everything must have seemed topsy turvy in those days to the average man and woman. Things that, in their childhood, men and women were burned for believing, were now to be accepted by all Churchmen. The people of England now heard, to their amazement, by the very Injunctions of the King's Majesty, that images and relics were not to be licked or kissed; that beads were not to be used; that money and candles were not to be offered to the images or pictures of the Saints; and that all pilgrimages to the shrines, so dearly loved by Catholic hearts, were to be abolished. But, above all, and it was by far the greatest thing—in fact, it was the Magna Charta of the Reformation of the Church—the clergy were ordered to provide a Bible in English, to put it in the Church, and to do their utmost to encourage every one of their parishioners to read it as the very living Word of God. It was the Church's effort to popularize the Bible, and little did the leading Churchmen of the day

realize what it would mean within a decade or fifteen years.

But perhaps the most remarkable thing in connection with these Injunctions was the introduction of that great Church of England principle: The Church Service in English. For hundreds of years, the people of England's Church had never heard, in a Church Service, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments in their own tongue. Now the clergy were compelled by law, openly and plainly to repeat the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in English; and by reciting an article or sentence of each, Sunday by Sunday, and Holy Day by Holy Day, get the people to know them off by heart. To us, in these days, it may seem a very little thing, but, though it was but a little cloud like a man's hand, it was the precursor of the great rain, the showers of blessings, presently to fall upon our Church and England.

Did these forward movements continue in a steady succession from this time on?

No. During the next five years a decided reaction set in. Thomas Cromwell, the King's factotum, through various causes was losing influence. The star of Bishop Gardiner, that wily diplomatist and crafty Romanist, was in the ascendant, and during these years he seemed to have got influence with the stubborn King. It is not exactly easy to explain. But Cromwell's declining influence with the King at this time seems to have originated with a deputation of Lutheran divines who came over to England in the summer of 1538, at the King's invitation, to arrange a doctrinal Concordat. They were to try and find out a common expression and harmony of faith drawn out of the Bible. At first everything went well, but the Lutherans hit Rome a little too hard, especially on the matter of clerical celibacy; and the result was that the Romish party won over the King who, from that time, took a very decided and antagonistic attitude. The result was not only the breaking of the

Concordat, but the swinging of the King to the Romanist side and the rising into favour of Bishop Gardiner. (See Hardwick, *History of the Articles*, pp. 52-57; Jacobs, *Lutheran Movement in England*, pp. 134-135; and, best of all, *Cranmer's Letters*, Park. Soc., pp. 421-422.)

In 1539, the influence of Bishop Gardiner was sufficiently powerful to secure the passing of the Six Articles, which were approved by the King, passed by Parliament, and confirmed in Convocation. These Six Articles contained, in the most unadulterated form, the doctrine of the Church of Rome with regard to transubstantiation, clerical celibacy, auricular confession, and other teachings of the Church of Rome. They became the formulated teaching of the Church of England, abrogating the teaching of the *Bishop's Book*, the *Injunctions*, and the Ten Articles; and, most serious of all, they were enforced by penal clauses which made it death for an Englishman to deny transubstantiation. These Six Articles were enforced by another Manual of doctrine, published in 1540, without Cranmer's sanction, known as *The King's Book* or *The Necessary Erudition of any Christian Man*. It was like a hammer to drive in the nail of the Six Articles, and fasten the Roman doctrine of the Mass, and the Confessional Box, upon England's Church and people.

Points for Discussion

Elucidate and criticize The Ten Articles as a sign of Anglican Church independence of Rome.

Is not the modern idea that the Church of England never separated from the Church of Rome unhistorical?

Is not the theory that the Church of Rome separated from the Church of England also a figment of Church theorizers?

How is it that the publication of the Bible in English has been so overlooked by many Prayer Book writers as the real cause of the Prayer Book's compilation?

CHAPTER IX

THE LITANY OF 1544, AND THE BEGINNINGS OF THE PRAYER BOOK

DURING the period of Romish reaction, in the last few years of the reign of Henry VIII, it almost looked as if the hand on the clock of English Church history had been turned backwards. It seemed as if the night had settled down once more, and that the hope of the dawn was lost. But God's thoughts are not our thoughts; neither are God's ways our ways.

Though Cranmer's influence at this time seemed on the wane, he undoubtedly was steadily pursuing his life's vision as a Churchman. Thinking, planning, waiting, working, deadly in earnest; Cranmer during these days, that must have seemed so dark to him and his fellow reformers, seized every opportunity and occasion to advance the cause of reform in the Church.

At last his chance came. In 1542, he so moved the Convocation that it was directed that the Sarum Office should be adapted for Canterbury, and that the curate of each Church, after the Te Deum and the Magnificat, should openly read to the people a chapter of the New Testament in English; and when the New Testament was read over, then they were to begin the Old. In fact, Cranmer seems, in spite of the violent opposition of Gardiner, to have made a decidedly strong move forward in the path of liturgical reform.

Can the precise steps of the earliest liturgical reform efforts be determined?

It is a somewhat difficult question to answer. It was in the year 1543, a great date in English Church history, that the first step in the compilation of the Prayer Book was taken. In this year, thanks to the perseverance of Cranmer, the King himself authorized what would now be called a Committee of Liturgical Revision. How it was done, nobody probably will ever know. It seems, however, that in the Convocation of 1543, Cranmer declared that it was the royal will that the old Service Books should be revised, and he proposed the appointment of a Committee for that purpose. It is not very clear whether this Committee was ever appointed; or, if it was appointed, that it ever sat as a Committee to do its work. The original Committee seems to have consisted of the Bishop of Salisbury and the Bishop of Ely, Bishop Capon and Bishop Goodrich, with six of the Lower House. But the Lower House, which was Roman almost to a man, declined to have anything to do with it. Apparently no one would act. The Committee, therefore, as a Committee, fell through. (Gasquet, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 27.) It was a Committee on paper only. But, as it turned out, something was done, for Cranmer himself went to work, as a One-Man Committee. His instructions, according to the wording of the Convocation Letter, were:

1. That all Mass Books, Antiphoners, Portasses, (that is, Breviaries), in the Church of England should be newly examined, reformed, and castigated (that is, criticized for the purpose of emendation) from all manner and mention of the Bishop of Rome.

2. That all Apocryphas, feigned legends, superstitious orations, collects, versicles, and responses, should likewise be examined and reformed.

3. That the names of all apocryphal saints should be abolished from these Church books and from the calendars.

And, most important of all, for it was the keynote of the whole of the liturgical reformation of the Church of England in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI:

4. That the Service should be made out of Scripture and other authentic doctors.

This last sentence was probably slipped in by Cranmer with an eye to the ultimate reformation of the Church's Service. It gave him an opportunity not only to reform, but to introduce an entirely new service. Or, if that was not yet revealed to him, it opened up the path for a reformation of the Church's Service far in advance of anything hitherto thought of, much less attempted. It was, as Canon Perry says, "the commencer of our English Prayer Book."

It is seen then that the whole of this initial reform programme was destructive and constructive in its character. Its negative elements were the abolition of the Pope's name, apocrypha, legends, superstitious orations and prayers. But the work was to be also constructive. There was to be not only the excision of the old; there was to be the recasting and production of the new.

What was the immediate cause of the Litany of 1544*; and the key to its composition?*

The 1543 Committee proposal gave Cranmer the chance of his life. At last the opening had come for him to go to work upon an Anglican service for England's people and prepare that remarkable bit of pioneer work in the Church of England, the 1544 Litany.

At that time, in the mysterious providence of God, events were happening in England that led, in a very unexpected way, to the furtherance of Cranmer's ideals

and resolves. In a letter that was written in 1544 (you can find the whole letter, and it is intensely interesting, in *Cranmer's Letters*, Park. Soc., p. 494), King Henry tells the Archbishop that all Christendom, plagued with wars, hatreds and dissensions, and especially poor England, is in such a state of trouble that the help and remedy far exceeds the power of any man. God only can help, and Scripture encourageth us, in all these our troubles and necessities to fly to God and to cry to Him for aid and succour. The King then goes on to say that there ought to be a great series of united intercessions in every city, town and village church of the realm, and that it is necessary, as the people did not understand the Latin, to *have prayers in our native English tongue.*

The reader may well imagine with what joy Cranmer would utilize such an opportunity as that. The great desire of his life, to have prayer in the English tongue, at last was come, and at once he went to work. A letter that Cranmer wrote to the King at the time of its publication throws great light on the part played by Cranmer in the liturgical reformation of the Church of England. In fact, it gives, in a nut-shell, the principle of the whole construction of the Prayer Book. He tells the King that, broadly speaking, his plan was this:

1. He began with translating into the English tongue some of the old Litany Services, as we should now call them. They really were not like our Litany, but 'processions,' as he calls them; that is, mainly monotonous repetitions of the Kyrie Eleison and petitions to the saints. But he goes on to say:

2. That as he found many of these old Latin prayers barren and worthless, he felt constrained to use more than the liberty of a translator. Some words he altered; some words he took away in part; and some he left out altogether. But, and this is by far the most important point of all:

3. He said, "I have added new matter"; his guiding star, as he states, being throughout the desire "to excitate and stir the hearts of all men unto devotion and godliness."

It was printed in 1544, a little booklet of about seven pages, entitled: *An Exhortation Unto Prayer and a Litany with Suffrages.* The Exhortation Unto Prayer, which introduces it, is one of the most beautiful things in English devotional literature, and it seems a great pity that it is not included in our Prayer Book. We have in the Communion Service, four or five pages of similar matter, the Exhortations to the receiving of the Holy Communion. This prayer exhortation is very much the same in purpose, in form, and in authorship, and it would be a real gain if we had it to-day as a help to prayer. It is such a beautiful summary of the object and purpose of all prayer that it would adorn any book of devotion. In the first paragraph it says:

> "Our Father in Heaven hath bounden Himself by His free promise, and certified us by His Own Son, that whatsoever we ask of Him we shall have it; and we are here at this time gathered together to make Our Common Prayer to our Heavenly Father. Two things concerning prayer are especially to be learned, the first, to know for what things we ought to pray; the second, in what wise we should make our prayer."

The development of these two points is really beautiful and edifying, and it concludes with these fervent words:

> "Finally, we must beware in our prayer of that common pestilent infection, and venomful poison, of all good prayer, that is to say, when our mouth prayeth and our hearts pray not. Therefore, let us truly pray with a faithful heart, and assured affiance of our Heavenly Father's infinite mercy, grace and goodness."

Then follows the Litany. It is introduced by two Rubrics, the first of which brought to the English ear

those two words which have been ever since endeared to millions of Anglican Churchmen. It said : " It is thought convenient in this COMMON PRAYER of Procession (that is, supplication) to have it set forth and used in the vulgar tongue, for stirring the people to more devotion." Where Cranmer got the phrase which is the key word of the Church of England worship will probably always be a baffling problem. It may have been suggested to Cranmer by the words of Justin Martyr in his first *Apology :* " We offer up or make our Common prayers." Or he may have taken it from the prayer he calls *A Prayer of St. Chrysostom,* so familiar to all Anglicans. But there it was, and here it is to-day as the distinguishing title of our English Church Prayer Book.

In the second Rubric, another great principle of the Church of England was set forth for the first time : " It is to be said or sung of the priest, with an audible voice : that is to say, so loud and so plainly, that it may well be understanded of the hearers." It is a sentence that throws a great flood of light upon the present worship of the Church of England ! They reveal the master mind of England's Prayer Book compiler, and his resolve to get the people of England's Church, as he said at that time, " to pray in their own acquainted and familiar language with fervour and understanding."

Thus we see that the two basic lines of construction, and the two dominant and determining lines of Church of England worship, as set forth in this first English Prayer Service, were :

(1) That the people of the Church of England for all time should use COMMON Prayer. It was indeed a happy word ; an epoch-marking, epoch-making word, for the Church of England. It was unknown in the Church of Rome. As Cardinal Gasquet said : " This word since so familiar was then a novelty." (Gasquet, p. 54.)

(2) That the service of the Church of England for all

time should be an edifying prayer for man and for the glory of God.

Another notable thing with regard to the appearance of the Litany was this, that it stopped in the Church of England, all processions. "Immediately before High Mass, the priests, with other of the quire, shall kneel in the midst of the Church, and say or sing plainly and distinctly the Litany in English; and none other Procession or Litany to be used." That is, the Roman Catholic Procession, which was a procession of the clergy and choir in and about the Church, with crosses and banners, and a series of monotoned invocations from a moving mass of people, was abolished altogether. By the simple introduction of this Litany Service, a blow was struck at one of the most imposing of the Roman Catholic ceremonies, and the death knell was rung of all processions. Henceforth, prayer was to be in the Church only, by a people on their knees, not moving along as they sang and prayed.

What were the most remarkable features of the 1544 *Litany?*

The Litany of 1544 was, in a very real sense, the first forerunner of the Book of Common Prayer. It was the inauguration of the liturgical reformation of the Church of England. Its outstanding features were as follows:

(1) It was in English. That was a momentous innovation, and for us in these days almost impossible to comprehend. From the Roman standpoint, it was almost revolutionary, since the only authorized language of the Roman Catholic Church for public worship was the Latin. Of course, this did not supersede the ecclesiastical use of Latin in the English Church. The time had not come for that. But it tampered with one of the first principles of Rome. It broke the spell of the Latin use. It was a complete break from the Roman form and, in a way, it marked the termination of the monopoly of the clerics. It

struck a sympathetic chord in the hearts of Englishmen, by making the laity feel that they were now partners in the great work of worship. They were to pray like reasonable beings in their own language. As a prominent Church layman of that day said: "It was the goodliest hearing that ever was in this realm," or, as he would say if he were living to-day, "It was the finest thing I ever heard."

(2) It was, at least in effort and intention, the inauguration of the principle of united and responsive prayer, which is so salient a feature of the Church of England to-day. As a matter of fact, the principle of the people's part was really not effectively carried out by rubrical direction until the Prayer Book of 1552. At this time, 1544, and on to 1549—whether it was from the ignorance or incapacity of the people, or whether Cranmer had not advanced to the stage of giving to the laity congregational participation in the prayers—the responses were apparently to be taken by the choir and the people were to read them quietly and softly to themselves, or else listen, "with their minds erect to Almighty God and devoutly praying in their hearts the same petitions, so that with one sound of the heart and one accord God may be glorified in His Church." (*Private Prayers of Queen Elizabeth*, Park. Soc., p. 570.)

(3) The Litany was a striking contrast to any Roman Litany or pre-Reformation Litany of the Church of England. It must be remembered that the original Litany was the reiteration of a series of intensely solemn and short prayers which, pure and noble in original intention, sank, before many generations, into a mere service of monotonous repetition. The Litany was an open-air Canticle, sung processionally, and consisting of the chanting of the "Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison," each sentence being sung one hundred times. During the Dark Ages, the Litany became little more than a string of petitions to the saints. After the Invo-

cation of the Trinity, you would have heard the " Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis ; Sancta mater dei, ora pro nobis ; Sancta virgo virginum, ora pro nobis " ; the Virgin Mary thus getting three separate invocations as if she were on a parallel with the Three Persons in the ever-blessed Trinity. And then came Sancta Cecilia, Sancta Katharina, Sancta Anastasia, mingling in dreary monotone with St. Vincent, St. Fabian, St. Sebastian, and so on, and so on, a weird and wearisome reiteration of unknown and unedifying names.

There can be no doubt that Archbishop Cranmer was thinking of the vast majority of the English clergy, to say nothing of the laity, who chanted these Processions in Latin, when he said that the mouth prayed but the hearts prayed not. Bishop Dowden unquestionably was right when he said that " it was an exercise of the tongue rather than of the heart or of the understanding, when they pattered : S. Euprepia, S. Candida, S. Basilissa, S. Balbina, S. Pientia, S. Victoria, S. Corona, S. Felicula, S. Julita, S. Sapientia, S. Fides, S. Spes, S. Charitas, S. Crescentia, S. Emerentiana, etc., etc., etc., pray for us." (Dowden, *Workmanship of the Prayer Book*, p. 145.)

(4) The Litany was to be " said or sung." It was perhaps the first permission to SAY Church prayers, that was rubrically authorized in the Anglican Church. It is curious, too, to remark that the word ' said ' in the Rubric comes before the word ' sung,' and that the first Rubric ever printed in the Prayer Book laid down that great principle of SAYING the prayers.

(5) But, while the Service, as a whole, was almost identical with the Litany as it is to-day, with the exception of two or three of the prayers that have been added or transferred to another part of the Prayer Book, it contained certain petitions that would be very startling if they were said or sung in any Church of England to-day. Fancy our people hearing the clergyman, after the four great opening invocations, repeat these words :

Saint Mary, Mother of God, our Saviour Jesu Christ, pray for us.

All holy angels, and archangels, and all holy orders of blessed spirits, pray for us.

All holy patriarchs, and prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors and virgins, and all the blessed company of heaven, pray for us.

Or, imagine how the people would be startled if they were to hear the clergyman repeat this petition which was the fifth of the deprecatory suffrages :

From all sedition and privy conspiracy; FROM THE TYRANNY OF THE BISHOP OF ROME, AND ALL HIS DETESTABLE ENORMITIES, Good Lord, deliver us.

When, by the grace of God, the eyes of Cranmer were opened to see the falsity of the false and the truth of the true as it is in Christ and His Word, the Invocation of Saints, the outstanding feature of medieval praying, was seen to be a fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no warrant of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God (Article XXII). This petition to the Virgin Mary and the Saints was therefore struck out.

And when Queen Elizabeth came to the throne in 1559, if not from the desire to conciliate her Roman Catholic subjects, certainly from her own strongly Catholic bias, the reference to the detestable enormities of the Pope was struck out. But, as Bishop Dowden sagaciously remarks, if the Queen had had any idea of the detestable enormity of her pretended deposition by Pius V, or the plots for her assassination which were hatched in Romish seminaries abroad (and wickedly worked out by Jesuit emissaries at home), she would probably have left that petition in the Litany. Yes. And perhaps have added a few more like words.

Such was the Litany of 1544, a monument to the evangelical simplicity and sincerity of the great Primate of England's Church. Surely it must have been written while he

was meekly kneeling upon his knees, for it is inbreathed with a spirit of sympathy, humanity, intercessory sublimity, that seems simple enough for the lips of childhood, and ample enough to satisfy the widest of intercessory petitions.

Any reader who cares to investigate this earliest form of the Litany is referred to the *Private Prayers of Queen Elizabeth* (Park. Soc.), which will well repay original investigation. He will there find, on page 574, the King Henry version of the Lord's Prayer, " Suffer us not to be led into temptation," and also the beautiful petition on page 575, " Pitifully behold the *dolour* of our heart," an expression from the French and Latin which may well evoke the philological enthusiasm of the student. The word ' dolour ' not only shows how the Latin tongue had been incorporated in our English language, but also how it has passed into popular use through the *via media* of the French termination.

Points for Discussion

How was it that the strong spirit of English independence did not create a national demand for the vernacular at an earlier period in the English Church ?

Suggest parallel cases, in our history, of the perseverance of one determined man carrying out a programme abandoned by his weaker or lukewarm colleagues.

Investigate the assertion that the first instalment of the Prayer Book came out of great tribulation, and that the phrase ' Common Prayer ' was an epoch-making and an epoch-marking word for England and England's Church.

CHAPTER X

THE CLOSING YEARS OF HENRY VIII

FROM 1540 to 1547, the Church of England was practically Popery without the Pope. Politically and ecclesiastically, England was like a great sea upon which the four winds of heaven strove. It was a time of strong reactions. There were forward and backward movements of swiftest change. The movements of the months seemed so contradictory that, in the after vision of the present day, they pass our understanding.

At the head of the one movement was that master Romanist, Bishop Gardiner. He was an ecclesiastic of ecclesiastics ; clever, dogged, masterful ; a man of strange ability and tenacity of will ; the watch-dog of the obscurantists, watching every opportunity to fight what he considered was the good fight of the old Roman faith.

At the head of the other movement was Cranmer. Growing year by year in the knowledge of the Bible and of the Gospel, with quietness and patience he held on, unashamed and steadfast, determined to fight to a finish the long-disciplined hosts of Rome. It is fine to think of the quiet but resolute purpose of that great English Churchman steadily moving on to its great objective. As far as the reformation of the Church of England was concerned, the man of the hour was Archbishop Cranmer. It was he who held the fort. During the latter years of Henry VIII he stood almost alone, and the preparation of the soil of the Church for the securing of the Prayer Book in the reign of Edward VI was almost solely due

to his devotion and influence. At that time he was the soul of the forward movement of the day.

Henry VIII died on the 28th of January, 1547. The English Church, outwardly, was very much as it was a hundred or two hundred years before. The Mass was celebrated in every church of the Church of England. Every bishop and priest of the Church of England was, by consecration and ordination, in communion with the Church of Rome. The central service in every church was the Mass of Rome. The old order was practically unchanged in all its essentials and externals.

And yet, though the Church of England was far from reformed, it had taken seven steps onward. They were great steps. They were steps that a quarter of a century before would have been deemed impossible.

1. The Papal supremacy was overthrown. The domination of the Pope was forever over in England.
2. The Church of England had asserted its right as a national church to formulate its own doctrines and had put them forth.
3. The Bible had been secured. An open Bible is now in every Church in England, in English, for the people, to read.
4. For the first time in the history of England certain parts of the Church Service were held in English—the Lord's Prayer and the Litany, the Creed and the Ten Commandments.[1]
5. Many Roman superstitions had been denied and some Roman practices canonically or formally abolished.

[1] The writer confesses that it has always been a matter of perplexity to him to understand exactly how these parts of the service in English were introduced and whether they were really, in the reign of Henry VIII, ever heard by the great body of English Church people in Church. From Gasquet (*P. B. Edw. VI*, pp. 53, 55, 57) it appears that these were to be read at a six o'clock matins by one of the minor Canons in the choir; but the vexatious question is: What were Matins and Evensong before 1547-48? Gasquet himself raises the question (p. 103) and apparently is unable to answer it satisfactorily to himself.

6. The Litany had been authorized for use in English, and a splendid ideal of congregational or united Church prayer had been inaugurated.

7. The ideal of preaching the Word, though partial and rudimentary, had been introduced.

But, after all, the Church was past the darkness that is deepest before the dawn and, as the great reign of Henry VIII draws to its confused conclusion, streaks in the sky tell of the dawning of the new day.

Perhaps the most remarkable thing of all in connection with this extraordinary reign was the unchangeable affection of the King for the Archbishop. Bishop Burnet thinks that the King's esteem was based upon profound respect for Cranmer's integrity and honesty. And in this Shakespeare, generally a very shrewd judge of character, agrees with him. And so when Henry VIII was dying he sent for Archbishop Cranmer to minister to him, and Strype, in his *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, tells us that it was by the King's command in this dying hour that Cranmer was ordered to draw up a form for the alteration of the Mass into a Communion. The authenticity of this fact has been questioned by some, but nothing could be more emphatic than Strype's assertion, and he was apparently quite confident in this statement. (Strype's *Memorials*, I, p. 198.) It is well for us therefore, as we review the great preparatory period of the Church of England, to remember that the final injunction of the regal mind of England, prior to the Reformation, was that the service of the Church of England should be transformed. In fact, as far as it bears upon the origin of the Prayer Book, and the changed form of the Church of England is concerned, the history of the two reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI may be summarized, in these words :

In the reign of Henry VIII it was proposed to turn Mass into a Communion ;

In the reign of Edward VI the Mass was turned into a Communion.

Points for Discussion

Has not Cranmer received a treatment from certain Church historians that is manifestly unjust? Have not his efforts to promote the principles of the Reformation been intentionally undervalued, and weaknesses and inconsistencies been unduly magnified?

The Church of England in 1546 in the Via Media Anglicana. Was it Romanist or Reformed? Was it Papist or Protestant, or both?

How far is it possible to see in the gradual changes of these years a spiritual parallel to Ephes. iv, 21-24, and to use the language of Canon Girdlestone, that the Church was putting off 'the old man' of Romish ceremonial, and putting on 'the new man' of Reformation doctrine?

CHAPTER XI

THE FIRST MOVEMENTS IN THE REFORM DIRECTION IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI

THE death of Henry VIII removed the one great barrier to the Reformation of the Church of England, liturgically and doctrinally. It was during this brief reign of a mere boy that England's Church was absolutely transformed. It entered the reign of Edward VI with almost every external attribute in form and doctrine of the medieval Church of Rome. It came out of it with every external attribute in form and doctrine of the modern Church of England. It was the same Church in name and place and head, national, episcopal; but its teaching, its doctrine, its manner of worship had undergone a complete alteration. A converted man is the same man as he was before his conversion. But his mind, his habits, his attitude, his words, his desires, are changed; he has a new heart and a right spirit, and a changed life. The Church was like the prodigal son who sank and sinned, but later arose and came to his father, a reformed and ennobled man.

As far as the Church and the movements of progressive reform were concerned, the three great influences of the reign were the Protector, the Archbishop and the King. The two ruling heads of the nation were decidedly Protestant. Somerset, the Protector, was for some time the political head of the realm, and busied himself mainly with the secular affairs of the Kingdom. His motives were not always easy to define. But sometimes perhaps

from policy, sometimes perhaps from personal preference, he helped, in various ways, the Reform movement. Cranmer, the Primate, was the ecclesiastical head, and his position was completely different from what it was in the reign of Henry VIII. He was now largely left free to pursue his task of ecclesiastical reform. The chance of his life had come. The psychological moment had arrived. To use the language of the great Apostle : " A great door and effectual was opened unto him," and, he could have truly added, " there were many adversaries."

The question of the hour, in 1547, was : What will Cranmer do ? For Cranmer was now free to carry out his life ambition of a thorough reform of the worship of the Church of England, and introduce changes that a year before would have been impossible. The state of religion at this time was complex beyond belief, and the storm centre was the Mass. The Bishops still held the fort, and the great majority of them, of course, were Roman, bitter and militant. The clergy, as a whole, were as obscurantist as their Bishops.

What were the first acts of ecclesiastical importance in the reign of Edward VI ?

The very first act of the Council was one of no small importance. It was to compel all the Bishops to take out new commissions. That is, they were, as a body, to express their loyalty in an oath of allegiance to the Crown, a very very bitter pill to a Roman Catholic Bishop, when that King was not Henry VIII, but Edward VI. Gasquet thinks that this was the cardinal point of the whole ecclesiastical policy of the reign of Edward VI, for it made the Bishops Ordinaries of the Realm, as Gardiner shrewdly said. Gardiner knew perfectly well what it meant. It meant that they could be turned out if they did not fall in with the current of the Reformation movement, and the pleasure of the King. It meant that

they were at the mercy of the Government and liable to dismissal at any moment.[1]

And now came a project that was almost revolutionary in its working, on the part of the Council. It was a most vigorous move in the way of preparation for the *re*-formation of the Church in its doctrine and ritual and service, a simple but very effective effort to pave the way for a complete abolition of the Roman Catholic system and services and to introduce, in a formal and authoritative way, the main elements of Reformed Anglicanism. The thing that was done and the manner in which it was done, was peculiarly that of a vanished age, and possible only in a Church that was practically identified with the State.

What they did was this. First of all, they suspended for the time all episcopal functions, and cleared the way for an independent effort. The Council determined, by means of a Royal Visitation, to cover the whole realm and, in a very simple way, to bring the people of England's Church into the current of the reform desires of the Church leaders of the day. Overlooking altogether all diocesan partitions, or, at least, ignoring them for the time, they divided England into six parts. Each part was to be visited by five Visitors or Commissioners, known as Royal Commissioners.

Who were these Commissioners, and what was their authority and function?

They were some of them ecclesiastics and some of them laymen of high standing in the State, and they were appointed by the King, as the Supreme Head of the

[1] A curious fact is noted by Hole in his *English Church History*, (p. 173) and that is that the Protestant Bishops were not required to take fresh license from the King as the Roman Bishops were. If this is so, it shows the extraordinary temper of the age, and the obvious resolve of Somerset and Cranmer (for at this time the boy King was too young surely to have any will in the matter) to treat the Roman Bishops in a very summary fashion.

Church. They were at once to go to all the Dioceses in the Kingdom, with their message to the Bishops and the clergy. They were to carry with them a copy of what were called The Royal Injunctions, a copy of the Homilies, and a copy of the Paraphrases of Erasmus; and they were to see that every bishop and his parish priests not only had copies of these, but carried out the intention of the Council with regard to them. That is: they were to see that these most Protestant Injunctions for the abolition of the old superstitions and ceremonies were strictly carried out. They were to see that these, in many ways, most Protestant Homilies were to be read, and Erasmus' Paraphrases, so full of Scriptural suggestion, to be perused by the clergy. They were also to see that every Church had four English Bibles, two for the use of the ministers and two in the body of the Church; presumably, of course, for the people to have access to them and to read them as they willed. (Gasquet, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 56.)

This Visitation experiment was certainly a forward movement of an extremely practical and successful character. It very sharply brought home to the clergy the fact that, whether they liked it or not, they must adopt the principles of the Reformation. It also made them realize that excuses were impossible. As a matter of fact, nothing that human sagacity could have devised could have carried out more completely the intention of introducing as quickly as possible the great innovation of the new and reformed Church of England system. For the plan, in its application, worked out in some such fashion as this. The Royal Visitor would come to a Diocese. He would see the Bishop, and possibly he would also summon the clergy. Then he would explain to them that they were all bound, on the Royal authority, to carry out the instructions contained in the written orders of the Royal Commission. They were to tell the people that the old superstitions and Church practices to which

they and their fathers had been accustomed for centuries were all to be done away with. The clergy were to see to it that all shrines, and candlesticks, and tapers, and wax images, and pictures, and paintings of idolatry, were summarily destroyed. The time-honoured Processions in and around the Church and in the fields, with their crosses and banners and Latin responses, were to be put a stop to. No lights were to be burned before any image. There was to be no Lady Mass, no crosses or chanting. In one word, they were to tell them plainly that all the things so dear to the popular mind were to be abolished. But more. They were to show them how they were to have the prayers in English, and how they were to use the Litany; and explain how they were to have certain Lessons from the Bible; and how they were to have sermons in English, and homilies.

Now, suppose a bishop or a priest were to say: "I don't understand exactly what that means—reading the Bible? I haven't got a Bible." The Commissioner would produce the Bibles and say: "Here they are; now put them in the Church." If the priest were to say: "I haven't got any Homilies. I have never seen the Erasmus' Paraphrases," the Commissioner would produce one, saying: "Here are the Homilies—here are the Paraphrases. Use them according to the Royal will and command, that the King's loving subjects obediently receive and truly observe and keep all his Injunctions."

In one word, at one blow, the salient features of medieval worship were abolished by Royal Statute in the Church of England. It was the bell tolling the death of Romanism. It was as if the bells were ringing: "The Pope is gone; Popery is dying; the Gospel is come; the Bible is here; superstition and hypocrisy shall vanish away."

The Prayer Book had not come yet. But the Church was on the wave of a great forward movement in the direction of Common Prayer. The new era is on the horizon. The new era will soon be here.

These Royal Visitations and their Commissioners and the Injunctions were so decidedly in the reforming direction and so strongly anti-Roman that Bishop Gardiner protested against them. The Council Book said that he had spoken impertinent things of His Majesty's Visitation, and refused to receive the Injunctions and Homilies. The result was that he (and Bishop Bonner) were incarcerated in safe-keeping in the Fleet Prison. Thus one of the chief obstacles to the free and further development of the reform drama was got rid of, as Gasquet says, and the way was opened for Cranmer and his co-reformers to push forward the work of liturgical revision.

The student will find a most interesting account of this whole matter of the Royal Visitations, the Commissioners and the Injunctions, in Gasquet (*Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 52-62). It is, of course, written from the Roman Catholic standpoint, but it shows how a Roman Catholic of the day would have looked upon the amazing changes that were being brought about by the authority of the Government in so short a time.

The next event of importance in the reign of the young King, the greatest almost, was his first Parliament. The opening Parliament of King Edward VI marked an epoch. It met on November 4th, 1547. Apart from the natural curiosity and national excitement of the day, it is of abiding interest to modern Churchmen because it was the commencement of the present day phase of the English Church. It was the inauguration of life and liberty for a nation and a nation's Church. It was the dawning of the day of liberty for those whom Christ doth make free by His truth; the liberty of the Reformation. As has well been said: "In one gigantic leap, religious liberty, the birthright of the future, was reached." For one of its first acts, if not its first act, was to declare that all and every Act or Acts of Parliament concerning doctrines or matters of religion were to be repealed, utterly void, and

of non-effect. In one word, the Church of England was given a new sheet on which to write its future history. The rule of Rome was over. The great Forward Movement of reformed Anglicanism had begun.

What were the most important enactments of this first Parliament of Edward VI?

The two outstanding features of this epoch-making Parliament were:

1. The Repeal Bill, which tolled the passing bell of penal Romanism in England;
2. The Communion-in-both-kinds Bill, which tolled the passing bell for doctrinal Romanism, and, incidentally, gave the start to the compilation of the Prayer Book.

The first Bill was negative. The second was positive. By the first Bill, the Six Articles, the formulated doctrine of the Church of Rome in England's Church, were repealed. The Roman doctrine of the Mass was abolished in the Church of England. The Church of England became, for the first time, a really Protestant Church.[1]

The age-long penal restrictions upon the publishing and reading of the Bible, and the laws against heresy, were declared null and void. In this way, the very basis of Rome's religion, with the penal laws enforcing it, was destroyed. The way was made clear for the introduction of the truth. It was a wonderful piece of legislation.

But the most important act of that Parliament by far was the Communion-in-both-kinds Bill. It declared that

[1] The word 'Protestant' is used, of course, in the popular sense, as the opposite to Romish, Papal, Popery, and Papist. The Church of England is called in the Parliamentary Statutes "The Protestant Episcopal Church," and her religion "The true Protestant Religion," or, as in the Coronation Oath, "The Protestant Reformed Religion." The Church of Rome, in popular and technical language, is generally described as the Roman Catholic Church. The Church of England is described not only in technical and popular language, but also in legal statutory language, by the two descriptive adjectives, Protestant and Episcopal, as, in the United States, our Church is the Protestant Episcopal Church.

the most blessed Sacrament was to be commonly delivered and ministered unto the people in the Churches of England and Ireland, under both kinds of bread and wine. That is, the laity were to receive, for the first time in the history of England's Church for centuries, the Cup as well as the Wafer. From the Roman Catholic standpoint it was by far the most revolutionary thing yet attempted. It was only to be expected, therefore, that when the Bill appeared in the House of Lords, under the somewhat harmless title of " An Act for the Sacrament of the Body and Blood," the Roman Bishops who were present opposed it most violently. Naturally. It meant the passing of the old, a break with the ancient Roman Mass, and the opening of the way for the imposing of what was, to them, a new religion, upon the people. And more. For the passing of the Act gave Cranmer a free hand. For, whilst it imposed the practice, it left the power of prescribing the mode to the Government, and it also gave Archbishop Cranmer the opportunity of dealing with the ritual of the Mass.

And now comes the remarkable thing. This idea of the Communion in two kinds was in itself, when we consider the time, an ecclesiastical revolution. It was an absolutely new thing in England's Church. It opened up such vistas of unlimited possibilities of change in the service of the Mass. But how, said the perplexed Bishops, how, as a matter of practical politics, are we to carry this out? The Cup for the laity? In what part of the service? With what words, and how? There is no provision whatever for this in the Mass! How, echoed the bewildered priests, partly from a want of will and partly from a lack of knowledge, how are we to do it? What form are we to use? Of course, there was no form, nor the remotest liturgical precedent to act as a guide. Bishop Dowden, who apparently gave a great deal of research to this matter, is very emphatic in asserting that no words at all were used for the communicating

of the laity at or after Mass. And it is certain no words were ever used with regard to the giving of the Cup, for the Cup was not given. It is an obvious Q.E.D. (See Dowden's *Further Studies*, pp. 234, 237, 317, 333, and Upton's *Outlines of Prayer Book History*, Ch. v.)

It was because of this, because the very Act of November, 1547, necessitated the appointment of a Committee, or whatever it might be called, to draw up such an Order that the Commission of Bishops met on the implied authority of the Act I, I Edward VI. Nowadays we should call it The Prayer Book Committee, and it was —though, of course, never known by that name—the first Compilation Committee of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England.

Points for Discussion

How far was Gardiner justified, from the Roman Catholic standpoint, in resisting the action of the Council in the matter of the Injunctions?

Bishop Ridley's assertion that the Latin tongue defrauded the people of their own in the Service.

Why has the idea of the Communion in both kinds been so abhorrent to the Roman ecclesiastical mind?

CHAPTER XII

THE PRAYER BOOK COMMITTEE OF 1548, AND THE ORDER OF THE COMMUNION

THERE are few more interesting studies than the story of the Compilation Committee that produced, in 1548, the little booklet known as *The Order of the Communion*, and, in 1549, the first Prayer Book, and one of the most fascinating questions that can possibly be entered upon by the earnest Churchman is the one that we shall now attempt to answer. That is:

What was this first Prayer Book Committee? Who were its members? What did they meet to do?

One would imagine, of course, that the answer to this would be simple, and that any history of the Prayer Book would describe it easily. But, as a matter of fact, the very opposite is the case. It may seem the easiest thing to describe in a page or two, how a body of representative Churchmen were selected to produce a new Prayer Book; and how they met session after session and proceeded with their task. It may seem natural to suppose we can have a summary of the minutes of each meeting and a record of the suggestions, motions, amendments, and counter motions. But if the reader desires to know how the Primate moved that this be inserted, and Bishop Ridley seconded it; how Bishop Skyp moved something else in amendment, and Bishop Redman seconded it; how Bishop Holbeach suggested and Bishop Goodrich

objected ; in fact, if he wants to know the exact process of construction and the part taken by each compiler therein, then all that can be said is that he will be grievously disappointed. For the very names of the Committee are still a matter of historical controversy. As to the procedure of the Committee, scarcely anything is positively known.

If this is the case, are there any facts that can be actually stated with regard to the First Committee ?

The only facts that can be absolutely stated are these :

1. That in January, 1548, a fairly large number of the ablest leaders of the Church of England, some of them Roman Catholic, some of them Protestant, gathered together at Windsor ;
2. That their object was to compose an Order of Communion in the English tongue, or, as Cranmer says in his letter to Queen Mary (*Cranmer's Letters*, p. 450, Park. Soc.) they were gathered together for the Reformation of the Service of the Church.
3. That it was unanimously agreed by all parties, without controversy, that the Service of the Church in the Church of England ought to be in the mother tongue. That is, that the Service of the Church of England should all be in English.
4. That, of this Committee, the Archbishop was not only the chairman, but the leading mind. Whoever the men were, this can be most positively stated, and it is a fact that ought to sink into the mind of the Churchman to-day, that the constructive genius of the Liturgy of the Church of England was Archbishop Cranmer, and that he was not only the most prominent figure *ex officio*, but the most active member in every way in the work that was attempted and achieved.

Perhaps it would be interesting to the reader to give Cranmer's own statement of this, as it is found in a letter

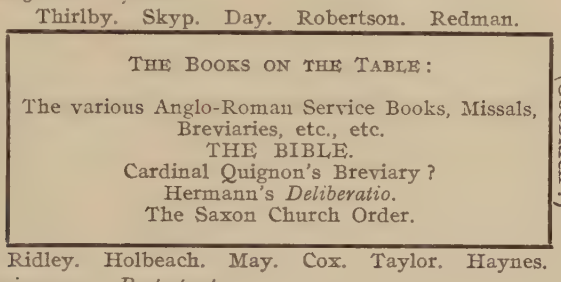
that he wrote, shortly before his end, to Queen Mary. He is indulging in some reminiscences, and among other things, he tells about the meeting of the Committee that gathered as the first Compilation Committee. These are his words :

" When a good number of the best learned men reputed within this realm, some favouring the old, some the new learning, as they term it (where indeed that which they call the old is the new and that which they call the new is the old) ; but when a great number of such learned men of both sorts were gathered together at Windsor for the reformation of the service of the Church, it was agreed by both without controversy (not one saying contrary), that the service of the Church ought to be in the mother tongue."

Is it possible to know the names of the men gathered there ?

It would be extremely interesting to be able to tell who these men were. It would be interesting for us to have had a peep in at that door, to have seen the table around which they sat, or the Committee Room in which they worked ; to have noted their gestures of approval and disapproval, of suggestion and of comment. But no one of the day seems to have given the matter a thought, and it was not until a hundred years later almost that even a conjecture was made with regard to the names of these men, the first compilers of our Liturgy. Some writers think there were twenty-four of them ; others that there were only thirteen, six on each side of the table and Cranmer, the Chairman. But suppose we attempt to visualize the scene, and recreate it, to use a well known phrase, by an act of the historical imagination. Let us imagine that this is the table in the room in which the Committee are assembled. Let us imagine that there are laid on it the various books used chiefly in the com-

pilation of our Prayer Book. Let us visualize the men in a session of Prayer Book Compilation.



At the head of the table sits Cranmer, Primate, Archbishop of Canterbury. Of course. That goes without saying. Wherever he sat was beyond controversy the head of the table. On his right hand sat the Protestant members, if we may so denominate the men who favoured the new learning, the men of the Reformed School. There was first and strongest, Bishop Ridley; next to him, Bishop Holbeach or Holbeck; then Dean May, the Dean of St. Paul's; then Bishop Cox of Ely, afterwards nominated as Archbishop of York; then Dr. Taylor, later on Dean and Bishop of Lincoln; and, last of all, Dean Haynes or Heynes or Haines, the Dean of Exeter. On this side of the table also might be mentioned Bishop Goodrich, though his principles do not seem to have been so decidedly on the reform side as the others (Gasquet, pp. 85-141), and he probably was not strong enough in conviction to come out clearly on the Protestant side. We have put him in a neutral place at the foot.

On Cranmer's left hand, the other side of the table, were the men who favoured the old learning, that is, the Roman party, the Roman Catholics. These were Bishop Thirlby of Westminster; Bishop Skyp of Hereford; Bishop Day of Chichester; Dean Robertson of Durham;

and Dean Redman or Redmayne of Trinity College, Cambridge. All of them were men who represented the uncompromising attitude of the Roman ecclesiastics, fighting to the last ditch for the Mass and the Breviary. In fact, it is a very well founded conjecture that the later work of this Committee was confined entirely to the Protestant section, and that the Romish members of the Committee withdrew as a protest against the radical nature of the revision. (See Gasquet, *Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 134-141).

It is most interesting to notice that a number of these men were of that early Cambridge band of twenty-seven who, twenty years before, had met together for the study of God's Word, under the leadership of Bilney. Bilney was the man who brought Latimer to the knowledge of God's grace, and also Miles Coverdale, so distinguished afterwards as the translator of the Bible. It is certain that four at least of this Cambridge band—Ridley, Skyp, Heynes, and Cox—became members of this first Prayer Book Committee and were thus associated with Cranmer in the great work of the compilation of our Prayer Book, though Skyp, in 1548-49, was found on the side of the opposition. (Jacobs' *Lutheran Movement in England*, p. 10.)

As was said before, we have no means of ascertaining what they did in their Committee or even exactly where they met. For it cannot be stated definitely whether it was in the Town or the Church or the Castle at Windsor. But, wherever it was, they kept at work, and in the month of March, 1548, this first Committee produced what was called *The Order of the Communion.*

What was this result of their work, the so-called "Order of the Communion?"

The Order of the Communion that they compiled or produced was a booklet of three or four leaves. It was

really a little appendix to the Roman Mass. Or, rather, it was an additional portion of the Mass Service, in English, tacked on for the benefit of the priest and the communicant. That is, the Roman Mass was still to be celebrated in Latin as for the last thousand years or so, but immediately after the Priest himself received the Sacrament, he was to consecrate the Cup, and go on in English with the words printed in *The Order of the Communion.* There can be no doubt that it was a preparer of the way for the speedy abolition of the Mass, for, in the very Preface, it gave away the secret of the future in the words: "That, from time to time, we may be encouraged further to travail for the reformation and setting forth of godly orders." How it worked out, with the body of the Roman Mass Service still celebrated in every Church according to the Use of Sarum, it is hard to say; and how far the priests were able or willing to try it, would be still harder. As the most important of the preparatory segments of the Prayer Book it deserves attentive study.

The Order of the Communion began with an innovating sentence that inaugurated for English Churchmen the great rubrical system of the Prayer Book. It was just a Rubric of five lines saying that the Parson, Vicar or Curate, the Sunday or Holy Day before he administered the Communion, should give warning to his parishioners that they prepare themselves thereto, saying to them openly and plainly as hereafter followeth, or such like:

"Dear Friends, and you especially, upon whose souls I have cure and charge, upon . . . . day next I do intend by God's grace to offer all such as shall be thereto Godly disposed, the most comfortable Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, to be taken of them in the remembrance of His most fruitful and glorious Passion: by the which Passion we have obtained remission of our sins, and be made partakers of the Kingdom of Heaven," etc. It was just the first of the exhortations as it appeared in

the Prayer Book of 1549, and, as revised in 1552, is in our Prayer Book to-day.

After this there comes a long Rubric. This Rubric is of peculiar interest to the Churchman of to-day because it was the first ritual Rubric in the history of the reformed Church of England. It must have been a very startling thing to the clergy of the day. It began by saying: "The time of the Communion shall be immediately after that the priest himself hath received the Sacrament, without the varying of any other rite or ceremony in the Mass (until other Orders shall be provided)." It then goes on to say that the priest shall "bless and consecrate the biggest chalice or some fair and convenient Cup or Cups full of wine, with some water put into it; and that day NOT DRINK IT ALL UP HIMSELF, but only take a sup or draught, leaving the rest upon the altar, covered." After which he was to turn to those who were to communicate and begin the next exhortation. This is the one so familiar to Churchmen of a generation or so back, the so-called long exhortation:

"Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye coming to this Holy Communion, must consider what St. Paul writeth to the Corinthians, how he exhorteth all persons diligently to try and examine themselves," etc., almost *verbatim* as we have it now.

After this came a short exhortation of warning, to warn from the Holy Table any open blasphemer, advouterer (adulterer), or person in malice, envy, or any crime. The priest was ordered at this point to pause and, after waiting a while to see if any go out, he was then to give the short exhortation, "Ye that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins," as it is to this day in our Prayer Book, except that they were to make their humble confession to Almighty God, *and to His holy Church* here gathered together in His name.

After this came the General Confession, the Absolution, the Comfortable Words—so quaint in their old rendering:

" Come unto me all that travail and be heavy loden, and I shall refresh you " ; " This is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be embraced and received," etc. ; " If any man sin, we have an Advocate," etc., " Jesus Christ . . . He it is that obtained grace for our sins " ; probably Cranmer's own translation. Then came the Prayer of Humble Access, " We do not presume to come to this Thy Table," and two Rubrics on the delivery of the Sacrament of the Body of Christ, and the delivery of the Sacrament of the Blood. He was to give the Body of Christ with the words : " The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ," etc., and when he delivered the Sacrament of the Blood he was to give every one to drink once and no more, with the words : " The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee," that is, of course, only the first half of the words now in use. And then he was to let them depart with the blessing so familiar to us all now, but then in its first and abbreviated form : " The peace of God which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds, in the knowledge and love of God, and in His Son Jesus Christ our Lord," to which the people were to answer : " Amen."

Two somewhat lengthy Rubrics end the little service. The first said that the consecrated Breads shall be broken in two places at least and distributed, and that when the Cup or Chalice is to be consecrated again it shall be in the words of the Latin Mass, " Simili modo " to " in remissionen peccatorum," and without any elevation or lifting up.

It was indeed a very remarkable document. *The Order of the Communion* can be found in the *Two Liturgies of Edward VI*, published by the Parker Society, and should be carefully studied by the student of the Prayer Book. It is the preliminary effort of the great reformers in the most difficult of all their pioneering work. To go in the face of the centuries, and to draw up a new order for the Service of the Holy Communion, was indeed a task that

would have taxed the highest genius of the most daring reformer. It is wonderful to see how the main outlines of our Communion Service as we have it to-day in the Church of England exist in embryo in this brief Order for *The Order of the Communion.*

Was this "Order of the Communion" what might be called an English Communion Service?

No. Most certainly not. It was not a new Communion Office, as has been sometimes thought (Perry, p. 193); nor did it, as others have stated, turn the Mass into the Communion, that is, in our Church of England sense. It left the Mass untouched. The Canon of the Sarum-Roman Mass was there. The Latin Mass Service was performed as usual in every English Church. The ritual and transubstantiation teaching were still there. But, while it did not abolish the Mass, it certainly went a long way in that direction. In form and style and principle, from the Roman Catholic standpoint, it was uncompromisingly Protestant and evangelical. While it mentions the Mass, it also speaks of the Holy Communion and the Sacrament. It introduced, moreover, a kind of earnest friendliness that was probably novel in the history of the Church of England. The first address began in a most familiar and attractive way: "DEAR FRIENDS, on Sunday next I do intend by God's grace to offer to all such as shall be thereto Godly disposed the most comfortable Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ." It goes on to speak of faith and repentance being necessary for the worthy reception, in terms truly Scriptural and spiritual. In equally novel and extraordinary terms, it speaks of the spiritual eating and drinking, and of ministering the Bread and ministering the Wine. It forbade the elevation of the Sacrament by ordaining that there shall be no elevation or lifting up of the consecrated Wafer; that is, in order that it may be worshipped. This in itself, the first rubrical prohibition of the Church of England in 1548, was a most

Protestant innovation and a very strong blow at the practice of adoration of the Sacrament. It dealt a strong blow also to auricular confession, by no longer making it the compulsory antecedent of the Communion.[1] It ordered the Communion only for a Sunday or a Holy Day. Above all, by ordering the Communion in both kinds it restored to the people their long-lost privilege of receiving the consecrated Cup as well as the Bread.

In one word, it was the first effort of England's Church to restore the Lord's Supper to the people in their own beloved tongue. It was the spiritual audacity of England's foremost Churchman daring to give back to the Church people their long-lost privilege of receiving the Cup as well as the Bread in the Holy Communion.

Copies of this *Order of the Communion* were sent to each Bishop, with a sufficient number for all their clergy ; and the Bishops were ordered to see that the clergy learned how to use them and did use them by Easter, 1548. That is, " each Bishop was to see that every parson, vicar and curate should have sufficient time, wherein to instruct and advise themselves for the distribution of the said Holy Communion according to the Order of the said Book." We can see then how it all came about.

A new King ; a new power behind the throne, Cranmer ; a new Parliament, with new resolves ; a new provision, Communion for the laity in both kinds ; a new form needed, for there was no possible way of doing it ; a Committee of provision and preparation ; and, finally, an *Order for the Communion.* What it meant to the friends of the reform movement in England may be inferred

[1] It is possible that this preliminary step in our Anglican system, of not requiring auricular confession as an indispensable preliminary to the reception of the Holy Communion, was first thought of by Cranmer in that visit to Nuremberg in 1532, when his astonished ears heard the Deacon turn to the people " telling them in their own mother tongue how they should prepare themselves to the Communion of the Flesh and Blood of Christ, and then, may every man come that listeth, without going to any confession." (Jacobs, *Lutheran Movement in England,* p. 47.)

from the fact that, in the summer of 1548, Miles Coverdale, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, was at Frankfort, and had brought to him a certain little book in English containing *The Order of the Holy Communion.* It aroused his interest and curiosity, and in a letter that he wrote home at the time, he said it was a cause for congratulation. In the quaint language of the day he described it as " the first fruits of godliness according as the Lord now wills His religion to revive in England."

Points for Discussion

Do not the words of the Rubric (1548) " until other order shall be provided " clearly show that Cranmer had already contemplated the production of the Communion Service, if not of the Prayer Book ?

What was the real significance of the words in the King's proclamation authorizing the Order of the Communion : ' that we may be encouraged from time to time further to travail for the reformation and setting forth of such Godly orders ' ?

In how far was the reformation in England, the RE-formation of the Church of England ?

CHAPTER XIII

BEFORE THE FIRST PRAYER BOOK. THE ANTI-MASS AGITATION. CRANMER'S CHANGING VIEWS. THE GREAT DEBATE, DECEMBER, 1548

THE Order of the Communion of 1548 was obviously a mere preliminary in the great Forward Movement. The King's proclamation was very distinct. The voice was the voice of Edward ; but the hand was the hand of Cranmer. " Let all our loving subjects receive this, our Ordinance, (the receiving of the Sacrament in both kinds), that we may be encouraged, from time to time, further to travail for the reformation and the setting forth of Godly orders." That is, they were going to do more and more. They were going to produce more services, and service forms in English, for the people. How much more, only time would tell.

How was " The Order of the Communion " received, and what was the state of the Church mind ?

As a matter of fact, the King's loving subjects received the Ordinance with anything but pleasure, and it came upon the mass of the astonished clergy with a bewilderment of surprise and of indignation. The clergy were practically divided into three sections :

First. Probably the smallest ; those who used the Order of the Communion and tried to do their best. They were keen to carry out the new Order, and ' did gladly follow the order thereof.'

Second. Others, disliking it at heart, and yet not quite prepared to go the length of defying the law, dissembled and patched it; probably by mumbling it, and putting in such sections as they liked; and

Third. Those who deliberately disregarded the Order, and went on, just as they did before, with the celebration of the Mass in Latin. What such priests did was simply to pooh-pooh it altogether. Possibly they either said, point blank, they wouldn't receive it, or, if they did receive it, that they didn't know how to use it, as they hadn't the cups, or the wine, and took no steps to provide them.

The state of things in England's Church at that period was, in many places and in many ways, confusion worse confounded. The whole realm was beginning to understand the meaning of the great division that was so soon to come. The discord and the disorder was beyond description. It was the falling laths and plaster, the tumbling of the old walls, of the dust of the rubbish soon to be removed, to make place for the building of the new. On the one side, the great mass of the untaught and unenlightened people still clung to the Palms, the Ashes and the Holy Water. On the other, the more perfervid of the innovating spirits took upon themselves to destroy the images, to break down the altars, and, in a most drastic manner, to carry through, by their own hands, the abolition of the remaining elements of Popery.

During the year 1548, there was in the Church a strong Anti-Roman Movement of a decidedly free lance order. Proclamations were issued which tended to fan the flame of opposition. But there was also a great propaganda by tracts and treatises. Books of all kinds, booklets and pamphlets in great quantities, by both English and foreign writers, were issued, exposing the falsities of the Roman Mass and the idolatry of its worship. The Sacrament was stigmatized as "The Popish idol, the dumb God, a poetical changeling; a piece of paste was to be

carnally worshipped with fond gestures; the creature to be made a Creator; a vile cake to be made God and Man. The Supper of the Lord is perverted into a vain superstitious ceremonial Mass; the holy memory of Christ's death hath been changed (by the Catholic) into the worshipping of his God made of fine flour." (Gasquet, pp. 122-123.)

The whole country was flooded with writings of this kind, especially the towns and cities. It seems to have been easy to obtain a license from those in the highest quarters for the publication of popular exposures of Popery. In those days the printing and publishing of booklets was more easy and rapid than we have any idea of to-day, and it did not take long for the masses of the people to hold in their hands these cheap and easily obtained anti-Roman tracts and pamphlets.

It must be remembered, too, that at that time—and it was a most extraordinary thing to the average Englishman, accustomed from childhood to trials for heresy—no man was punished or imprisoned for religious opinions. The consequence of this was that every man gave free vent to his opinions, and very often expressed in a most violent way what he thought was the truth of religion. Many of the more fanatical entered churches according to their own will, destroying images and relics, as they thought they were doing right in their own eyes.

A reference must be made here to a question that had a very important bearing on the future of the Church of England, and that was the gradual progress in Cranmer's doctrinal views.

What was the real change in the views of Cranmer as to the Lord's Supper, and in what way did they affect the Prayer Book of to-day?

It was during the years 1548-49 that Cranmer was gradually coming to his final convictions with regard to the Mass and the Holy Communion. For years before,

in fact, ever since he had been a serious student of the New Testament, there had been a gradual progress in his views. Broadly speaking, his growth may be described in this way. From 1525 to 1538, Cranmer was a Roman in doctrine, an Anglo-Roman in Communion, gradually tending towards Lutheranism. But he was being led on to another and more Scriptural view. From 1538 to 1546, he might be described as an Anglican in Communion and a Lutheran in doctrine, gradually tending to the Reformed position. He had practically given up belief in the Mass Sacrifice. Then his convictions became more and more clearly evangelical. From 1547 to 1552, Cranmer gradually progressed from the Lutheran to the Reformed position which he finally accepted, and for which, as an Anglican, he died. He slowly but surely came to that view which might be described as the Evangelical Reformed doctrine of the Church of England, in the famous words of Hooker : " The real presence is to be sought for not in the Sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament." (Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.*, Bk. V, ii, c.lxvii, 6, p. 84.) We think this is a matter of great importance. In fact, Gasquet is right when he says that the opinion of Archbishop Cranmer in matters of religion, at this time, was a real determining factor in events. Only we would go farther and say that the mind of Cranmer and his views was THE determining factor in the events of that day. Whether it was owing to the influence and effort of Bishop Ridley, or to contact and conference with the Continental reformers, there can be no doubt that Cranmer had been slowly but surely advancing in his opinions with regard to the Presence of Christ in the Communion, and the nature and meaning of the service. A very decided change had come over him. It was not only a definite departure from the earlier ideas of his Roman days, but from the state of his mind in the later years of Henry VIII. There can be no doubt, also, that even before the publication of the first Prayer Book, as

we shall presently see, Cranmer had come to hold very firmly the view of the Sacrament that is stereotyped for Churchmen the world over, for all time, as the teaching of the Prayer Book to-day.

Now it is well for the reader, before these changing views are made subject of unfriendly and adverse criticism, to recall two things. First, it is simply a matter of historical fact that Cranmer did change his mind, and changed it constantly. Second, but—and this is the matter of real consequence—there can be no doubt that the change was always in one direction. It was a change that was Scripturally and spiritually progressive from the beginning to the end. And it had a reason. In after years, not long before his death by burning, he let the world into the secret of his changing mind. "I confess," he said, "that I WAS in that error of the Real Presence as many years ago I WAS in divers other errors of transubstantiation of the Mass." And then he went on to say that "after it pleased God to shew me by His Holy Word, a more perfect knowledge of His Son Jesus Christ from time to time as I grew in knowledge of Him, by little and little I put away my former ignorance." That one little biographical sentence throws a flood of light upon the character and career of Archbishop Cranmer. It shows how what Church historians have termed fickleness, if not lightness of mind (II Cor. i, 17) was, in reality, no mere vacillation of opinion, but the setting of a steady undercurrent of conviction towards the Truth. It explains the transition phases of Cranmer's passage from Transubstantiation, the Roman position, through the Lutheran position, to the Church of England position to-day as set forth in Articles XXV, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX, XXXI.

What was the so-called Great Debate on the Sacrament, and what was its significance as far as the teaching of the Church of England is concerned?

During the autumn months of 1548, the Prayer Book

Committee was steadily at work, working away, in session after session upon the new Prayer Book, or, as they termed it, " One Uniform Order of Divine Service," for the Church of England. The Book, of course, had to be submitted to Parliament, and before the end of the year an event occurred of very great interest to students of the history of our Liturgy. It was the discussion in the House of Lords over the centre of the proposed new Prayer Book, the Sacrament, and the new doctrine of the Eucharist.

It was about the middle of December, 1548, that all England was excited by a great debate on the Sacrament, that was going on in the Parliament, in the House of Lords. It seems incredible to us to-day that the foremost men in the Kingdom, the noblemen and Bishops and leaders of the Government, should occupy a large part of a most important session of the House of Lords, in debating upon matters of religion. But Dr. Peter Martyr, who at that time was in Oxford, in a letter to his friend, Martin Bucer, says that " There is much contention among our people (here in England) about the Eucharist. Every corner is full of it. Even in the Supreme Council of the State there is so much disputing of the Bishops among themselves as I think was never heard before." And he goes on to say that " Those who are in the Lower House, as it is called, that is, men of inferior rank, (I wonder how the members of the House of Parliament to-day would like that !) go up every day into the Higher Court of Parliament (that is, into the House of Lords) that they may be able to hear the sharp and fervent disputations." (*Original Letters*, Park Soc., ii, p. 469.) It must have been a pretty lively debate ; and though the Bishops were the chief debaters, it is evident that some of the laity also took part, and that very intelligently. The thing that they debated about was the Real Presence in the Sacrament. The new Book was to come out shortly, and all England was in a ferment of expectation and curiosity.

The Roman Catholic Bishops knew pretty well what to expect. They knew perfectly well that the day for Transubstantiation was past, and that the Mass was crumbling like the house built on sand. (Matt. vii, 26-27). Somerset, the Protector, arranged that before the Bill was passed which was to impose the new Prayer Book—the First Prayer Book of 1549—upon the Church of England, there should be a frank discussion with regard to the Communion. It was the storm centre, not only of the Prayer Book, but of the religious controversy of the day with regard to the exact nature of the Lord's Supper. After a great deal of parrying and not a little noisy discussion, the Protector, in an impatient mood, spoke very sharply to the Bishops, and told them "to fall to some point," or, as we should say in these days, get down to something practical. The point that he wanted them to discuss and decide was whether, after the consecration, the bread was still bread. The Roman Catholic Bishops tried hard to fence, but Cranmer settled the whole matter by clearly stating, with an outspokenness that surprised even his most intimate friends, what was then called the reformed doctrine. He repudiated absolutely the idea of ANY presence in the bread. He declared that the only presence in the Eucharist was a presence in the heart. His words were remarkably clear, quaint though they be in the ancient setting:

> "There be twoo things, to eate the Sacrament, and to eate the bodie of Christ."
>
> "All men eate not the bodie in the Sacrament."
>
> "Our faith is not to believe Him to be in Breade and Wyne, but that He is in heaven."
>
> "That no man is in Christ or Christ in hymn except he dwell in Christ and Christ in hym."

In fact, what Cranmer did in his speech was to set forth, with extraordinary skill and evangelical clearness, the doctrine that is now stereotyped in the Articles and

in the Communion Service of the Church of England. "I belive that Christ is eaten with the heart. Only the good can eat Christ's body. The eating with our mouth cannot give us life. When the evil eateth the Sacrament, bread and wine, he neither hath Christ's body nor eateth it." "To eat His flesh and drink His blood is to be partaker of His Passion." Could anything be clearer? When he stated in that great speech of his in the Parliament that "the wicked eat not the body of Christ, but their own condemnation," he was just expressing the wording of Article XXIX, in almost the very language of the stereotyped doctrinal statement itself. The words are identical, for the Title of the Article is: "Of the Wicked which eat not the Body of Christ in the Use of the Lord's Supper." And the Article teaches that the wicked, and such as be void of a living faith, not only are not partakers of Christ, although they receive the Sacrament, but eat and drink to their condemnation.

And when he put forth the idea, as he did so plainly, that Christ is not in the bread and wine, He is in heaven, he simply stated the teaching of the Church of England in the last Rubric at the end of the Communion Service: ". . . . For the Sacramental Bread and Wine remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored; (for that were Idolatry, to be abhorred of all faithful Christians); and the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in Heaven, and not here; it being against the truth of Christ's natural Body to be at one time in more places than one."

The Roman Catholic Bishops maintained their point with equal stubbornness, and with remarkable debating skill. Tunstall, the Bishop of Durham; Heath, the Bishop of Worcester; Thirlby, the Bishop of Westminster; Rugg, the Bishop of Norwich; all of them in turn pleaded hard for the retention of some phases of the Mass. They stood with all their power for the elevation, adoration, and oblation. But in vain. The debate closed on

the 19th of December, a Wednesday. And on that day, Wednesday, 19th December, 1548, the Book for the Service in the Church, that is, the First Prayer Book, was brought down to the Lower House and read to the members. It is not exactly certain when the Bill was finally passed, but it was somewhere about the 15th of January, 1549. From contemporary letters, the interest not only of the whole Church of England but of the leaders of the Reformed Church abroad, were focussed at this time upon this important Parliamentary debate and upon the production of the new Church of England Prayer Book. The letters were full of the great disputation in Parliament for the putting down of the Mass, and Peter Martyr speaks of the extraordinary power and influence of Cranmer. "Believe me," he wrote to his friend, "he has shown himself so mighty a theologian against them, as they would rather not have proof of, and they are compelled, against their inclination, to acknowledge his learning and power and dexterity in debate. Transubstantiation is now exploded." (*Original Letters*, ii, p. 470.)

But perhaps the most remarkable of all the letters is that by a man named Traheron to the eminent reformer, Henry Bullinger, dated at London, December 31st, 1548, in which he spoke of the debate about the Eucharist in the presence of almost all the nobility of England. He says that "The Archbishop of Canterbury, contrary to general expectation, most openly, firmly and learnedly maintained your opinion upon this subject." "And the Bishop of Rochester, Bishop Ridley, handled the subject with so much eloquence, perspicuity, erudition, and power." "The truth never obtained a more brilliant victory among us. I perceive that it's all over with Lutheranism, now those who were considered its principal and almost only supporters have altogether come over to our side."[1]

[1] We consider that this matter of the great debate in the Parliament is one of the utmost importance. The English Church is undoubtedly

Points for Discussion

In what way was the Great Debate the real dividing line between the Roman and the Protestant sections of the Church?

The revelation of the power of the printing press in disseminating both truth and falsehood.

Has the pendulum of modern opinion swung with regard to Cranmer's changing mind? Is the modern Anglo-Catholic view of his character largely tinged by Roman Catholic misrepresentation?

indebted to Cardinal Gasquet for his researches in the matter and in Chapter XI and Appendix V (Gasquet, *Edw. VI and the B. C. P.*) there is the most ample material for reading. Mr. Tomlinson's extraordinarily able investigations, summarized in his *Great Debate,* and Upton's *Outlines of Prayer Book History* (pp. 118-131) will also repay further study.

CHAPTER XIV

THE FIRST PRAYER BOOK OF 1549
ITS DISTINCTIVE FEATURES AND SPECIFIC TEACHING

IT is the early part of the year 1549. Everything is now ready for the first English Book of Common Prayer. The Parliament has authorized it in both Houses. In the Upper House, the House of Lords, January 15th, 1549; and in the Lower House, January 21st, 1549. The Act of Uniformity has ordered it to be printed in March, and to be used in every Church of the Church of England after Whitsunday, 1549.

This remarkable book, known generally to-day as the First Prayer Book, deserves the studied interest of all Churchmen. It is without doubt one of the most momentous documents connected with the history of England, and especially of England's Church. IT IS THE FIRST EDITION EVER PUBLISHED OF OUR BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. It must have excited an almost universal curiosity when it first appeared; for it was undoubtedly a new thing in ecclesiastical history. It was a positive novelty in Anglican liturgies; and there was certainly nothing like it in any other Church. It was not Roman. It was not Lutheran. It was a purely Anglican production, and significant of the age in which it was composed. It was a curious combination of what might be called Evangelical or semi-Lutheran reformism, and Anglo-Catholic conservatism. In fact, when we think of the age and think of the time of its production, it is a perfect marvel. A few leading

men, dogged in determination, clear in vision, firm in the pursuit of their ideal, in the face of an overpowering numerical majority of the priests and the people, produced a Prayer Book, as the preliminary embodiment of the principles of the Reformation for the Church of England. It represented, therefore, pioneer work of extraordinary difficulty. It represented the revolt of light against darkness for, in the main, it was essentially a religious reversion, and a theological restoration. It was an attempt, through the dust and storm of battle, to restore to the laity of England their devotional rights in worship, and to the Church of England, truth in doctrine according to the teaching of Christ and His Apostles in the Word.

What were the main features, broadly speaking, of the First Prayer Book?

Looked at broadly, the First Prayer Book contained, as a whole, the main features of the Book of Common Prayer to-day. That is, as a whole, it was constructed on the same lines as our Prayer Book. In its general make-up and objective, it was an attempt to carry out the same purpose in worship. In detail, however, as in doctrine, it was considerably different. The reader would at once see that many things were in it which are not in our Prayer Book to-day, and that many things were not in it which are now in our Prayer Book. For instance, the Psalms, which constitute such a prominent feature in our Prayer Book, are conspicuous by their absence. In the First Prayer Book, there was a Table for the Order of the Psalms to be said at Matins and Evensong. We have now the Lessons for the day in the Calendar of the Prayer Book, and the minister has to go to the Bible on the lectern to read them. So, in the First Prayer Book, when they came to the Psalms, after the Venite, the priest had probably to turn up the Great Bible, the Cranmer Bible, which was in every Church, and find the

Psalms for the day and read them. It is a rather striking fact that in the Order, "How the Psalter is appointed to be read," which comes after the Preface in the First Prayer Book, the word 'read' is used uniformly. In fact, the word 'read' is used seven times and the word 'sung' not at all. For instance, there are directions such as these: "The Psalter shall be read through once every month: "How to know what Psalms shall be read every day, look in the Calendar": "Where the 119th Psalm is divided into twenty-two portions and is over-long to be read at one time." In fact, it would be interesting to know when and how the present day practice of the people repeating the alternate verses in the reading of the Psalms came into vogue. It would be interesting, too, to know just how far the people took a part in the reading or recitation of the Psalms at the time of the introduction of the First Prayer Book. For certainly in the First Prayer Book it does not look as if there was any effort made in that direction, and it is more than likely that the minister, as was said, had to go to the Great Bible to read them out to the people. Of course, everything was in a rudimentary stage, and it probably took long years before people settled down to the habits that we are accustomed to now.

Then there are two other most prominent features in our Prayer Book to-day that were not found in the First Prayer Book: the Ordination Service, and the Articles. But, of these, more later.

Perhaps, however, a good way for the reader to grasp the real significance and contents of the First Prayer Book would be to inspect it from a double view-point:

First. From the viewpoint of 1549. What must it have looked like to the English Churchman of that time; and how did it strike the man of that day, who saw it for the first time?

Second. From our viewpoint now in the twentieth century. What does it look like to us to-day; and

how does it strike us in contrast to the Prayer Book as we now have it ?

If we approach the Prayer Book of 1549 from the standpoint of that day, we are fairly safe in saying that it must have been a surprise from cover to cover. The English Churchmen who bought a copy in 1549, published say, by Whitchurch or Grafton, held in his hand a Prayer Book, for the first time in his life. It was one book. Just one. For centuries there had been a number of books. The bishop had his books ; the priest had his books ; the choir had their books ; and, with the exception of a stray Primer or the like, the laity had none. As to the Primers, Gasquet very frankly says that there has been a tendency to attribute an undue importance to them. These Primers were vernacular prayers for private use, but were entirely for private devotion and, as he says, they fall almost entirely outside the ground covered by the First Prayer Book. But the English Churchman reads in the Preface that now in the Church of England the curates, that is, the clergy, shall not use any other books for their public service but this book and the Bible. It must have been a most extraordinary piece of reading, by the way. Then a little sentence follows which must have made its appeal to the clergy, and to economical Church Wardens : " Furthermore, by this Order the Curates shall need none other books for their public service, but this book and the Bible ; by the means whereof *the people shall not be at so great charge for books*, as in times past they have been."

And now he holds the first Prayer Book of England's Church in his hand. He opens it. He reads the title page :

THE BOOKE OF THE COMMON PRAYER AND ADMINISTRACION OF THE SACRAMENTES, AND OTHER RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCHE AFTER THE USE OF THE CHURCHE OF ENGLAND.
Anno Do. 1549.

He reads on. He looks at the contents. He glances at the end. The thing that strikes him with astonishment is the fact that it is all in English. With the exception of the titles of the Canticles and the Psalms, there was not a word of Latin in it from beginning to end.

But perhaps the most amazing thing to him, especially if he was of a critical turn of mind, would be the fact that the great and central service of England's Church for a thousand years simply takes its place as one among many other services in the Prayer Book. For a thousand years or more the one great public service of divine worship in the Church of England, the service to which all other services were completely secondary and entirely subordinate, was the Mass Service on a Sunday morning. It was practically the only service, as in Roman Catholic countries to-day, attended by the great body of the people. Now he finds in the Table of Contents of this Prayer Book of 1549, that the whole of the first part of the Book is taken up with a Preface and Calendar, an Order for Matins and Evensong, the Introits, Collects, Epistles and Gospels, and then, about the centre of the Book, as if on a complete par with the others, "The Supper of the Lord and Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass." Then came services for Baptism, Confirmation (which has included with it in the same service, a Catechism), the Marriage Service, the Visitation and Communion of the Sick, the Burial Service, the Purification of Women, the Commination Service. And, at the end, a dissertation upon the Ceremonies to be omitted or retained, and certain notes for the more plain explication and decent ministration of things contained in this Book.

The next thing that would strike him would probably be the Calendar Table of Scripture Lessons for the year. He would see that there was quite a little of the Apocrypha but that there were no legends at all. For with an effort that was brave beyond description, the compilers declared

that all those uncertain, vain and superstitious readings of legends, such as the *Lives of the Saints*, etc., were to be left out, and that NOTHING WAS TO BE READ BUT THE VERY PURE WORD OF GOD, THE HOLY SCRIPTURES. He would be further struck with the fact that there was a very practical attempt made to bring the service to the people and to make the people realize as never before their part in the worship and in the Service. This was especially marked in connection with the Lessons, as he read these words: "Then shall be read two Lessons, DISTINCTLY, with a LOUD voice, that the people may hear." In fact, the Book from beginning to end must have been, more and more, to the Churchmen of that day, both lay and clerical, a perplexity as well as a surprise. It was so absolutely novel. It was so absolutely different from anything that they had ever seen or heard of in their Roman days.

But what of the First Prayer Book, as viewed from our standpoint?

The Book is equally a surprise. It is different from our Prayer Book in so many ways, and in many things that are so fundamental. We open it, and at the beginning we find that the Morning Prayer, called an Order for Matins, is very short. The whole of the beginning and of the ending of Morning and Evening Prayer in our present Prayer Book is wanting. The Prayer Book of 1549 began with the Lord's Prayer and ended with the Third Collect. That is, there were no Sentences, no Exhortation, no General Confession, no Absolution. At the end, there are no prayers for the King, the Royal Family, the Clergy, no inclusion of the All Conditions of Men, and the General Thanksgiving, as in the American and Canadian Prayer Books, and no Prayer of St. Chrysostom, and the Grace. And Evening Prayer, called Evensong, was still shorter. In fact, it is only a couple of pages, made up chiefly of the Magnificat, the Nunc

Dimittis, and the two Collects for peace and aid. But, strange to say, it included also the Athanasian Creed. Why this Creed should have been printed there, it would indeed be hard to say, because it was ordered to be said only six times in the year after the Benedictus, and one would naturally have thought it would have been printed with Matins, not with Evensong.

Another thing that would strike us as rather peculiar is that the Litany was printed AFTER the Holy Communion Service, and that at the beginning of the Gospels and Epistles, throughout the Church year, the title or the text of a Psalm, or a portion of a Psalm, is printed. It was known as the Introit. It was done away with in 1552 and is not in our Prayer Book to-day. But the Introit was a kind of little introduction to the Epistle and the Gospel, and it is possible that Cranmer not only wanted to show his independence of the Roman Use by adopting an entirely new series of Psalms, but that he wanted to return to what was the original Use of the Church in the early ages when, instead of two or three verses of a Psalm, as is the Roman custom, they had a whole Psalm.

The reader would be struck, too, with the curious wording of some of the Canticles and Collects. For instance, in the Te Deum: "Heaven and earth ARE REPLENISHED with the majesty of Thy Glory; when Thou hast OVERCOMED the sharpness of death"; and in the Benedicite, instead of "Bless ye the Lord," it is "Speak good of the Lord"; and the refrain of each verse is "Praise Him, and SET HIM UP for ever." Then when it came to the Lord's Prayer after the Creed, the minister alone was to say the Lord's Prayer, the choir (and the people?) to join only in the last petition and answer: "But deliver us from evil. Amen." Some of the Collects were quite different, too, notably the Third Sunday in Advent, St. Stephen's Day, Trinity Sunday (which is rather better than ours to-day), and the Eigh-

teenth Sunday after Trinity, with the curious but suggestive petition: "Lord, grant thy people grace to avoid the INFECTIONS of the devil!" And then there was that exquisite little Collect for Christmas, which is now included in the Canadian Prayer Book: "God, which makest us glad with the yearly remembrance of the birth of thy only Son Jesus Christ: grant that, as we joyfully receive Him for our Redeemer, so we may with sure confidence behold Him when He shall come to be our Judge," etc. It is a beautiful inclusion of the First and Second Advent.

But the thing that would strike us most of all, and it is, in one way, the most important feature of the Book, would be the fact that, throughout the Book as a whole, there were expressions and directions and doctrines that are now entirely wanting in our Prayer Book. As one opens the pages, one is surprised to find all sorts of things that may be called Romanistic or ritualistic; things that are very like the things that are common in the Church of Rome and in the extreme Anglo-Catholic Churches, so-called, to-day. Some of these things are of little doctrinal significance. Some of them are mere matters of form and position. Some of them are of doubtful meaning and might be used by the best of Protestant or Evangelical Churchmen without spiritual danger. For instance, the Morning Service is entitled "Matins" and that is the title at the top of each page throughout the service; and the Evening Service is entitled "Evensong," and "Evensong" is the title at the top of each page. Now, in our Prayer Book, it is not called "An Order for Matins Daily," but "The Order for Morning Prayer," and the words "Morning Prayer" appear at the top of each page of the Service. And the Evening Service is entitled not "An Order for Evensong," but "The Order for Evening Prayer," and "Evening Prayer" is the title at the head of every page.

If the reader cares to investigate this matter, he will

find that the Morning and Evening Services uniformly throughout our Prayer Book, without exception, in every reference, and there are many, are described as "Morning and Evening Prayer." They are never entitled "Matins" or "Evensong." Take, for instance, the Prefaces to the Athanasian Creed, the Litany, the Occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings, the Fourth Rubric before the Communion Service, the Rubrics before the Baptismal Services, throughout every day in the Psalms, and the Ordination Services. On the contrary, the words 'Matins' and 'Evensong' are only found in the Prayer Book to-day at the head of the columns for Lessons Proper for Sundays and Holy Days, and were probably left there as the older Anglican designation of the services.

But it was in the Communion Service that the most surprising changes were found. It must have been very startling to them, as it was the most revolutionary of all the changes. And it is very striking in its contrasts to our Prayer Book to-day. To begin with, the very title of the Holy Communion was strange in the extreme. It was called:

THE SUPPER OF THE LORD
and
THE HOLY COMMUNION
commonly called
The Mass.[1]

It is hard for us to understand the effect that this definition must have produced in the minds of England's Churchmen of that day. Even though the words "commonly called The Mass" were inserted as a kind of explanation, the words "The Supper of the Lord and The Holy Communion" were so novel that they must have been not only an astonishment, but a revelation of the character of the work.

[1] The Title in the second Prayer Book is "The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, *or* Holy Communion." That is the Communion in 1552, and now is one service, a Communion, not two services, a Mass plus a Communion.

At the time of the Communion itself, the partaking men were " to tarry still in the quire, or nigh the quire " on the one side, and the women on the other side, a thing that is very common in Continental Churches, and is seen also in some of the extreme Anglican Churches in England. When the wine was put into the chalice, a little pure and clean water was to be put thereto. In the first part of the great three-fold consecration prayer (now the prayer for the Church Militant), high praise and hearty thanks were given unto God for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all His saints from the beginning of the world ; and chiefly in the glorious and most blessed Virgin Mary, mother of Jesu Christ, our Lord and God ; and in the Holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs. The General Confession, which was AFTER the Consecration Prayer, was to be said by *one of the communicants*, or else by one of the ministers, or else by the priest himself. After the reception of the Holy Communion, sentences were to be said or sung, called the " Post Communion," some of which were very beautiful. For instance :

> " Happy are those servants whom the Lord when he cometh shall find *waking*." Luke xii.
>
> " If ye shall *bide* in me, and my word shall abide in you, ye shall ask what you will and it shall be done to you." John xv.
>
> " This is my commandment, that ye love *together*, as I have loved you." John xv.
>
> " Ye are *dearly bought ;* therefore glorify God in your bodies, and in your spirits, *for they belong to God*." I Corin. vi.

When the Holy Communion was celebrated on a work day, they were allowed to omit the Gloria in Excelsis, the Creed, the Homily, and the Exhortation " Dearly beloved."

In the Baptismal Service, the child was received by the right hand with the words : " The Lord vouchsafe to receive you into His holy household, and to keep and

govern you alway in the same, that you may have everlasting life." After he was baptized, which was by what is called Trine Immersion, a three-fold dipping, first, of the right side, second, of the left side, and, third, of the face, the minister was to put upon the child a little white vesture which was called the chrisome, with the words: "Take this white vesture for a token of the innocency given unto thee."

The Confirmation Service began with the Catechism and was, as we shall see presently, a service of Consignation, rather than Confirmation.

At the end of the Book, there were three or four pages with the heading "Of Ceremonies" (now in the Preface), and "Certain Notes," which was the inauguration of what might be called the ritual reformation of our Church. It ordered every minister in every parish church in England to use a surplice for the Morning and Evening Service, and Baptismal and Burial Services; the cathedral clergy, to use their University hoods; and the Bishop, beside his rochet is to have a surplice or Albe and a Cope or Vestment, and also his pastoral staff. But there is no mention of a mitre. They also directed that genuflections and crossings might be used or not used. At the Communion the vesture appointed for the priest was a white albe plain, with a vestment or Cope. The Cope was not a Sacrificial Vestment. Elevation of the consecrated elements was expressly forbidden. When we remember that this was in 1549 and that the Church of England was scarcely beginning, as it were, to get free from the overmastering rule and time-honoured usages of the Church of Rome, it is extraordinary to find such a Rubric as this, and to think that the Church leaders of the day had attained such a breadth of charity as to declare that English Churchmen were permitted to use or not use such things as kneeling and crossing. As the Rubric said: "They may be used or left, as every man's devotion serveth, without blame."

But were there not in the First Prayer Book many remnants of the Romish worship of the English Church in its medieval days?

This is a question that deserves the most careful study. Yes. There were found, from cover to cover, many things that may be taken as unquestionable evidences of a lingering Romanism. In page after page, there were expressions that are now wanting in the Prayer Book. There were words and sentences and Rubrics that have been intentionally deleted, or else so transformed or altered that an entirely different meaning must be attached to them. A few of the more outstanding features of the Book may be selected, to illustrate this.

For instance, in the Baptismal Service, after the second prayer, the priest looking upon the children said: "I command thee, unclean spirit, in the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, that thou come out and depart from these infants. . . . . Therefore, thou cursed spirit, remember thy sentence, remember thy judgment, remember the day to be at hand wherein thou shalt burn in fire everlasting prepared for thee and thy angels. And presume not to exercise any tyranny towards these infants."

The Confirmation Service seems to be modelled upon one of the great features of the Roman Catholic Service, which was the touching of the brow by the Bishop's oil-smeared thumb, with the words: "I confirm thee with the chrism of salvation." The chrism or oil feature was done away with, but the other prominent feature of the service, the consignation, was retained with the words: "Then the Bishop shall cross them in the forehead and lay his hand upon their head, saying: *N.*, I sign thee with the sign of the Cross, and lay my hand upon thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." In our service now the signing with the Cross is

abolished, and the only ceremony is the apostolic practice of the laying on of hands.

In the Service for the Visitation of the Sick, two lines with volumes of meaning and serious teaching in them occurred in the second Rubric after the Creed: "After which confession the priest shall absolve him after this form, *and the same form of absolution shall be used in all private confessions.*"

There can be no doubt whatever that these two lines not only permitted the practice of auricular confession, but they made provision for the manner of absolution. If you will open your Prayer Book to-day, you will find that these words are omitted, which simply means that there is no authorization now in the Church of England for the employment of any form of absolution in what is called auricular confession, except in the carefully safeguarded case in the Visitation of the Sick. In many extreme churches, the effort made to reintroduce the practice of auricular confession was one of the most prominent features of the Oxford Revival. The practice was made a matter of urgent necessity, and was especially urged as a preparation for the Holy Communion. As is well known, the practice of auricular confession may be considered the keystone of the Roman system. Without it, the fabric of the Roman Catholic Church would crumble. It is the final citadel of the priest's power. But in the Church of England it has no warrant. It is opposed to the Articles, denounced by the Homilies, and is not only not found in the Prayer Book, but is antagonistic to the whole of its system. (The reader is referred to the author's work, *The Protestantism of the Prayer Book*, pp. 113-140.)

There is also in the Service for the Visitation of the Sick a Rubric that provides for Unction, or the anointing of the sick, by the priest anointing the sick person upon the forehead or breast only, making the sign of the Cross. It was, however, a purely optional service (as is the

Special Confession and Absolution in our Prayer Book to-day), a concession to those who desired the old Roman usage, and began with the words: "If the sick person desire to be anointed, then shall the Priest anoint him upon the forehead or breast only, making the sign of the Cross."

In the Service for the Communion of the Sick there was provision for the Reservation of the Sacrament, in these words: "And if in the same day there be a celebration of the Holy Communion in the Church, then shall the Priest reserve (at the open Communion) so much of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood as shall serve the sick person." And in the second Rubric at the end, it is ordered that "if there be more sick persons to be visited the same day, then shall the Curate (there) reserve so much of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood as shall serve the other sick persons."

In the Order for the Burial of the Dead there are some very startling prayers, prayers that would sound strange in our ears to-day. At the grave, after the well-known sentences, "Man that is born of a woman," etc., the priest casting earth upon the corpse, shall say: "I commend thy soul to God the Father Almighty and thy body to the ground, earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust," etc. Then he prays: "We commend into thy hands of mercy (most merciful Father) the soul of this our *brother* departed, *N.*" And then: "Grant, we beseech thee, that at the day of judgment *his* soul, and all the souls of thy elect departed out of this life, may with us and we with them, fully receive thy promises, and be made perfect altogether through the glorious resurrection of thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord." And then, last of all, there was the prayer: "O Lord, with whom do live the spirits of them that be dead and in whom the souls of them that be elected, after they be delivered from the burden of the flesh, be in joy and felicity; Grant unto this thy servant that the sins which *he* committed in this

world be not imputed unto *him;* but that *he,* escaping the gates of hell and pains of eternal darkness, may ever dwell in the region of light with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, in the place where is no weeping, sorrow or heaviness."

The whole service was drawn up on a different basis from that of the present service of the Church of England. It was obviously *planned to obtain blessing for the dead,* and not for the living only. The prayers were prayers for the dead as well as for the living. And though there was not, as in the Roman Service, any incense or holy water or requiem chanting or offering of the Mass, there were undoubtedly many unscriptural features. These prayers are now abolished. The Popish superstition of a semi-purgatory is now distinctly repudiated. And in the next place, the whole of our Burial Service is intended for the living, and the commendations and prayers for the dead are changed into prayers for the living who participate in the service. It may perhaps be in place here to reaffirm to ourselves as Churchmen that there is nothing in the Bible to sanction what is commonly called praying for the dead. A solitary reference in the Apocrypha can hardly be pleaded as Scriptural sanction in the face of the teaching of Article VI, that the Church doth not apply it to establish any doctrine. The dubious reference of II Tim. i, 18, can still less be pleaded, for no one could surely say, with any degree of reason, that there is any suggestion of proof that Onesiphorus was dead. The practice of praying for the dead grew up in the declining days of the Church from the third century onwards, and abounds in the Greek and Roman Churches. In 1552, all praying for the dead was obliterated, as far as the Church of England Prayer Book goes, and such prayers are not now to be found in any authorized formulary of the Church of England. The contention that the words in the Burial Service: "That we, with all those that are departed in the true faith of thy holy name," etc., sanction praying

for the departed was met by Archbishop Whitgift, three hundred years ago, when he said: "You know full well what our doctrine is concerning prayer for the dead, and you ought not to thus boldly utter a manifest untruth." He contends that in this prayer "we are not praying for our brother, or other that be departed in the true faith; we are praying for ourselves." (Whitgift, Park. Soc., III, p. 364.)

But it is in the Communion Service that the most striking of what might be called the Roman Catholic features of the First Prayer Book are to be found. That service was in every way the most remarkable thing in the Book. From time immemorial in the Church of England, the Mass was the one service of all others. It was *the* Church Service, and it had for centuries practically displaced the others as the sun and centre of all Church worship. And now the English Churchman finds that this, the supreme and only service, is found in the Prayer Book as only one of a number of others. It does not even occupy the first place in the Book. He finds that a thousand or more years of elaborate ritual and doctrine, from the days of the Primitive Liturgies downwards, is swept clean away, and the whole of the opening part of the Mass has disappeared. He finds that the most sacred part of the Mass Service, the very heart and centre of it all, the Canon, which had been unaltered in its essence and largely in its details for thirteen centuries, was greatly altered. He finds that the service is no longer, on the part of the laity, to be a service of gazing and staring, and of listening to words in an unknown tongue, but of earnest and intelligent participation and a solemn reception of the elements of bread and wine. All these things showed such an absolute break with the ancient service that to-day we stand almost amazed at the temerity of the men who dared to revolutionize a service that for thirty or forty years of their lives had been to them the most sacred and solemn act of their daily Church

worship. Nothing but the power of the Word of God, and the force of the conviction that they had the leading and the light of the Holy Spirit could have impelled them to alter so sacred an inheritance as the ancient form of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. For, as Gasquet says, in speaking of the essence and centre of the Roman Mass Service, the Eucharistic Sacrifice, this entire portion of the Mass, instituting the act of formal oblation, together with the prayers, new and old, which accompanied it, were swept away. (Gasquet, *Book of Common Prayer*, p. 194.)

At the same time, the Communion Service in the First Prayer Book was far from being the pure and Scriptural service it afterwards became in the Church of England. While it retained scarcely anything of the Sarum or the Roman Mass, it retained many expressions and practices which were afterwards carefully eliminated from our Prayer Book, and are not to be found in the Church of England to-day. The doctrine of transubstantiation finally disappeared. The Sacrifice of the Mass was swept away. The invocation of saints was gone. The elevation of the Host was forbidden.

But, on the other hand, many things were found that are in striking contrast to the Prayer Book as we know it :

First. The term 'Mass' was used: 'The Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion, commonly called The Mass.' But it is obvious to the impartial reader that it was simply retained as an explanatory term, rather than as a concession to the pre-Reformation prejudice, for the title of the Service throughout, at the head of the pages, was 'The Communion.'

Second. The word 'Altar' is used. It is true that, for the first time probably in England's Church, the word now so familiar 'The Lord's Table' was found. There was also found that quaint and attractive phrase 'God's Board.' But the word 'altar' is repeatedly used throughout the Service. At the first revision of the Prayer Book, two or three years afterwards, the word 'altar' was intentionally removed,

and it has never been found in the Prayer Book since. Our reformers seem to have come to the deliberate conclusion that the altar was the inseparable adjunct of the Roman Catholic Service of the Mass. It was, in their judgment, essentially and inseparably connected with the idea of a sacrifice. But inasmuch as the Lord's Supper is to be ministered at a Table and the Apostle spoke of 'The Lord's Table,' never of the altar; and as the altar was the essence of the law and of the Old Testament sacrifices, and Christ instituted His Sacrament and Last Supper at a table; therefore, the word 'altar' is no longer used in the Church of England Prayer Book as a designation of the Lord's Table. That there was nothing capricious or accidental in this very radical action is evident from the very remarkable letter from the Council in the year 1550, above the signature of Somerset and of Cranmer and other Bishops, on the removal of the altars in every church or chapel in the diocese, and the setting up instead of a Table for the ministration of the Blessed Communion. This is followed by a table of reasons why the Lord's Board should rather be after the form of a Table than of an Altar. The first is: "The form of a table shall more move the simple from the superstitious opinions of the Popish Mass unto the right use of the Lord's Supper. For the use of an altar is to make sacrifice upon it; the use of a table is to serve for men to eat upon. Now when we come unto the Lord's Board, what do we come for? To sacrifice Christ again, and to crucify Him again; or to feed upon Him that was once only crucified and offered up for us? If we come to feed upon Him, spiritually to eat His Body, and spiritually to drink His Blood, which is the true use of the Lord's Supper; then no man can deny but the form of a table is more meet for the Lord's Board than the form of an altar." The five other reasons are just as strong, and to-day deserve careful reading. (Cranmer, *Remains and Letters*, Park. Soc., pp. 524-525.)

Third. The fourth Rubric distinctly appointed as the priest's vesture for the Holy Communion a white Albe

plain, with a Vestment or Cope. There can be no doubt that the permissive use of the Chasuble, the Roman sacrificial Vestment for the sacrificing priest (the sacerdos) was sanctioned. The chasuble was universally regarded as the sacramental sign of the priest's power to sacrifice. The Cope, however, which was permitted as an alternative, was a non-sacerdotal garment, and it seems to indicate that the Church was in the half-way house of a kind of Protestant-Roman compromise. Apparently it was a case of wear-what-you-please: If you were of Protestant leanings, you wore the Albe with a Cope; if of Roman, you retained the Chasuble.[1]

Fourth. The Eastward Position was definitely enjoined. This is the rubric: "The priest, standing humbly afore the midst of the altar, shall say the Lord's Prayer, with this collect." The words, of course, can have but one meaning. Even if there were no centuries of custom in the Medieval Church to guide it, there can be no doubt that "standing humbly afore the midst of the altar" meant that the priest should stand in the middle of the altar, with his face towards it, and his back to the people. Of course, as every Churchman knows, there is a very different rubric in the Prayer Book to-day, and now the only injunction is that the priest shall stand at the north side of the Table.

But the two most noticeable features of this 1549 Service were the great Prayer of Consecration, and the very definite teaching of the doctrine of the Real Presence.

What were the distinctive features of the Consecration Prayer in the Prayer Book of 1549*?*

The great Prayer of Consecration was the last vestige of the Mass in the Church of England. It was a curious and complex composition. While it retained little or

[1] The reader is here referred to the very able article in Upton's *Outlines of Prayer Book History*, pp. 159-167. See also *The Protestantism of the Prayer Book*, pp. 201-222.

nothing of the ancient Roman Sarum Mass Canon, and was possibly modelled after the German-Lutheran Liturgy of Brandenberg-Nuremberg, it was, on the whole, a fairly original Anglican composition. It was apparently the pioneer effort of the Anglican reformers to construct a Consecration Prayer on the lines of the Lutheran, rather than of the Roman Mass. It was a long prayer covering nearly four pages, coming right after the Proper Prefaces —" Therefore with Angels and Archangels " and the " Holy, holy, holy "—consisting of the three prayers now most familiar to all communicants in the Church of England :

1. The Prayer for the Church Militant, with the prayer of high praise and thanks for grace in the Saints and the Virgin Mary referred to above, and with a prayer for the dead, " We commend unto thy mercy (O Lord) all other thy servants, which are departed hence from us with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace ; grant unto them, we beseech thee, thy mercy and everlasting peace."
2. The Consecration Prayer Proper, which is now in our Prayer Book, but with the prayer for the Holy Spirit on the bread and wine, in the words : " Hear us (O merciful Father) we beseech thee ; and with thy Holy Spirit and word vouchsafe to bless (here the priest was to make the sign of the Cross) and sanctify (the sign of the Cross again) these thy gifts, and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ."
3. The Prayer of Sacrifice ; that is, the prayer which now comes after the administration, beginning " O Lord and heavenly Father, we thy humble servants entirely desire thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving." Only then it began with the words, " Wherefore, our Lord and heavenly Father, according to the institution of thy dearly beloved Son our Saviour Jesu Christ, we thy humble servants do celebrate and make here

before thy divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, the memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make," and ended with the words: "And although we be unworthy (through our manifold sins) to offer unto thee any Sacrifice, yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, and command these our prayers and supplications, by the ministry of thy Holy Angels, to be brought up into thy holy Tabernacle before the sight of thy divine Majesty. . . ." But then this section of the prayer CAME BEFORE the administration of the elements, and it was undoubtedly intended to set forth the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. In our Prayer Book now it COMES AFTER the administration of the elements, when the communication is finished, and besides that is not a necessary but only an alternative prayer.[1]

On the whole, however, when we consider the time, this great Consecration Prayer was a fine attempt to reconstruct the central act of the Eucharistic office upon really original and Scriptural lines. And if, as we said, it was probably biased by leanings towards the Lutheran rather than the Roman Canon, and appeared to the average Lutheran somewhat like the Communion Service of the Churches in Saxony, at the same time it departed intentionally from some of the Lutheran practices, such, for

[1] The reader is referred to the very full comparisons that are made in parallel columns in Gasquet, pp. 198-212; and also to Brightman's *The English Rite*, Vol. II, pp. 638-721, where, in four columns, the Suggested Sources; the Prayer Book of 1549; the Prayer Book of 1552; the Prayer Book of 1661; are given, side by side. The remarkable contrasts are, however, more clearly seen in Gasquet's work, the notes being invaluable in their suggestion. It is really astounding to one who has not made a careful comparison to see the way in which Cranmer, even in this Prayer Book of 1549, was led to avoid the main errors of the Church of Rome, and yet, at the same time, to retain whatever was spiritual and Scriptural. Whenever there was a little fragment of good, a little tiny sentence of worth and truth, it was most carefully retained. Here and there sentences like little glints of light amongst the obscuring darkness of the Roman teaching are found and carefully retained. But to understand properly the meaning of the First Prayer Book, and especially of our Prayer Book to-day, the reader should obtain a copy of the First Prayer Book and carefully compare it with our present service.

instance, as the elevation of the Host. (Dowden, *Further Studies*, p. 71, *Liturgies of Edward VI*, Park Soc., p. 8.)

And there still remained in it, one of the most erroneous doctrines of the Roman Mass Service. It taught unquestionably the definite doctrine of the Real Presence. In language unmistakable, in the address after the Creed or sermon, beginning with the familiar words: "Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye that mind to come to the Holy Communion," are these words: "He hath left IN those holy mysteries, as a pledge of His love and a continual remembrance of the same, His own Blessed Body and Precious Blood." In the next address, the one familiar to Churchmen now, beginning: "Dearly beloved, on . . . . day," are these words: "He doth also vouchsafe IN a Sacrament and Mystery to give us His said Body and Blood to feed us spiritually." In the Prayer of Humble Access, as we call it, are these words: "Grant us, therefore (Gracious Lord) so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ and to drink His blood IN THESE HOLY MYSTERIES." And in the fourth Post-Communion Rubric, with regard to the breaking of the round, unleavened Wafer into two pieces or more, these words follow: "And men must not think less to be received in part than in the whole, but IN EACH of them the whole body of our Saviour Jesu Christ." Surely any one possessed with the most rudimentary knowledge of theology can see that these phrases imply a doctrine of the Real Presence that is not now found in the Church of England. The very careful way in which the Reformers, in the revision of the Prayer Book, removed or altered these expressions shows that they were determined to take away from the book anything that could be adduced as savouring of Romanism, or likely to be interpreted as favouring superstition.

For there can be no doubt of the intention and the chief object of the compilers of the First Prayer Book, in the construction of the Communion Service. It was an honest effort to recover for the Church of England the long-lost

Lord's Supper. It was a determined effort to restore the Holy Communion, to get rid of the Mass, and to free the Church of England from the main essentials of Roman ritual and Roman teaching in worship. Whether or not it was intended in some features to conciliate both the extreme Protestant and the extreme Roman, it is hard to say. There can be no doubt that the Roman party, probably grudgingly and of necessity, professed to have been satisfied with it. For, while it swept away the Canon of the Mass, it left enough of what might be called Catholic matter and expression for the political Romanist to twist to a bad sense, as Bishop Cosin said a century or so later.

Bishop Gardiner was the leader of the Mistakers of the First Prayer Book, that is, of the men who wilfully perverted and mistook its true meaning and, by a specious misinterpretation, put upon the words and sentences of the Communion and other services a meaning that was never intended. For instance. As the Prayer of Sacrifice came BEFORE the reception of the elements, to Gardiner it seemed to teach or might be made to countenance the teaching of the Catholic doctrine of Eucharistic Sacrifice. Then, because prayers for the dead were found in the Consecration Prayer, Gardiner pleaded that they favoured Masses for the dead. And because there was a prayer for the Holy Spirit "to bless and sanctify the Bread and Wine that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Christ," he argued that that was tantamount to transubstantiation. He cleverly, also, seized the point of the fourth Post-Communion Rubric that "in each of them the whole Body of our Saviour Jesus Christ is received," as teaching the Roman doctrine. But more than this. He actually went so far as to say that the Prayer of Humble Access was an act of adoration paid directly to the body of Christ then lying upon the altar, because, in the First Prayer Book, the Prayer of Humble Access came, not as it does now, before the Prayer of Consecration, but some time after. (See

the fuller treatment of this in Tomlinson's *Prayer Book, Articles and Homilies*, pp. 28-33.)

Such was this remarkable book, the first edition of our Liturgy. It was the earnest attempt of earnest men to do the best they could under most distressing and difficult circumstances. It was the victorious achievement of Churchmen who were moving steadfastly to a definite anti-Roman and Scriptural Church position. And though, as we have seen, there were throughout the First Prayer Book generally, in all the services, expressions and practices which were clear indications of a lingering Romanism, in the first revision of the Prayer Book, which occurred within three years, all these things were intentionally removed and they are not now found in the Church of England. They were left out. They were left out by the very men who put them in. They must, therefore, have been left out for a reason. They were not accidental changes. They were not changes of convenience or of political accommodation. They were, as will be presently seen, the conscientious alterations of men who were spiritually enlightened and who, because of that spiritual enlightenment resolved to give to the Church of England a more perfect and definite Prayer Book, with services of such clear and unmistakable meaning that neither Gardiner nor any other could pervert and mistake their meaning.[1]

[1] The reader who cares to investigate the remarkable contrasts between the First Prayer Book of 1549, and the Second Prayer Book of 1552, and our Prayer Book to-day, will find in the author's *Protestantism of the Prayer Book* a fairly full treatment of the subject, with a comparison of the various services, especially the Communion, Baptism, Visitation of the Sick, and Ordination.

Points for Discussion

The measure of influence exercised by the Lutheran Service Books and the Lutheran liturgiologists.

How far was the First Prayer Book, while tentative and provisional, an evidence of the progressive spirit of reform?

The First Prayer Book as a means of bringing the spirit and meaning of the reformation into the life of the people.

Measure the meaning of Hole's words: "The First Prayer Book was the birth of public common worship."

Estimate the truth of the saying that the Prayer Book of 1549 was, from the Roman viewpoint, very Protestant, and, from the Protestant viewpoint, very Roman.

Would not a return to the First Prayer Book to-day, in every sense of the word, be a going back to a half-way house of Anglo-Romanism?

CHAPTER XV

THE SECOND PRAYER BOOK—1552. ITS SALIENT FEATURES, AND DIFFERENCES FROM THE FIRST PRAYER BOOK OF 1549

THE First Prayer Book was confessedly a failure. It was unsatisfactory to the Papists. It was not altogether satisfactory to the Protestants. Like all compromises, it pleased nobody. It has been called an expedient, or a temporary compromise which can have really satisfied no one. A curious thing was that a number of the very compilers disliked it, and some of them actually denounced it, and voted against it in the House of Lords. It was secured with difficulty, and disregarded by the majority. No new edition of it was printed in 1549; and after that year no copy of it was printed. In April, 1552, the very Parliament that passed it rescinded it, illegalized it under penalties, and substituted for it the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. At the same time, by the authority of an Order of Council, all the old service books were burned, defaced, or destroyed. In the year 1552, that is, only three years afterwards, it was made an offence not only to read the service in the First Prayer Book, but even to be present and hear it read.

What was the reason of the brief career of the Prayer Book of 1549*?*

The reason for this was obvious. The First Prayer Book was both abused, and misused. To begin with, the priests gave a different meaning to it from that which it

was intended to give, and used it in an entirely different way from that which the compilers desired. Cranmer and his associate reformers found to their astonishment and dismay that a majority of the Bishops and priests used the Book in such a way as to make the service seem as like the old Mass Service as possible. They still retained their vestments, and the candles before the altars. They were compelled to chant the service in English, but, as one of the Bishops said in a letter written at the time, " the Mass priests, that Popery might not be lost, most carefully observed the same tone and manner of chanting which they were accustomed to use in the Papacy." A majority of the priests in the English Church either couldn't or wouldn't read English, and were at heart bitter Papists. Martin Bucer, who was at that time the Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, in a letter dated a year afterwards, at Cambridge, said that " many of the parochial clergy so recite and administer the service that the people have no more understanding of the mysteries of Christ, than if the Latin instead of the vulgar tongue were still in use." (*Original Letters*, I, p. 72; II, p. 547.) Another one said: " In many places the Lord's Supper so takes the place of the Mass, that the people do not know in what respect it differs from it, except that it is celebrated in the vulgar tongue." And Bucer in his *De Regno Christi* says: " Although it is in the vulgar tongue, the sacrificers recite it of set purpose so indistinctly that it cannot be understood, and not a few of the priests shew forth the Holy Communion as the papistical Mass."[1] It is evident, therefore, that the great majority of the people, led by the Roman and Romanizing

[1] In his *Prayer Book History* (p. 140) Mr. Upton tells of an English Church ritualist who actually used to insert into our Communion Service the Canon of the Roman Mass, just before the Consecration Prayer, in a secret undertone and in an almost inaudible voice which was completely drowned by the singing of the choir who sang at the time the Agnus Dei in the Mass Service. This was probably what the priests used to do or, if they didn't do it, tried to do, in 1549.

priests, were openly opposed to it and in not a few places riots were daily occurring.

In a letter to Cranmer from the King, about this time, a lurid light is thrown upon the extraordinary state of things in the Church. It stated that though the Prayer Book (of 1549) was authorized by Parliament and ordered to be used by all the clergy and people of the realm, yet " divers unquiet and evil-disposed persons have bruited abroad that they should have again their old Latin service, their conjured bread and water, with such like vain and superstitious ceremonies." It then went on to say, in language as forcible as clear, that they were to put away the " vain expectations of having the public service again in the Latin tongue," which would simply be " a preferment of ignorance to knowledge, and darkness to light, and a preparation to bring in papistry and superstition again." And more. They were to take away all their Missals and Manuals and Ordinals, etc., after the Use of Sarum, Lincoln and York, and so deface and abolish them that they will never serve for use again. (Cranmer, *Remains*, Park. Soc., pp. 522-23.) In fact, within four or five months after the Prayer Book had been authorized, the King and Council wrote a letter saying that the new Book in many places of England was not known at all ; or, if known, was not used at all ; or, if used, was used in such a light and irreverent way that the people really heard nothing of it.

The Injunctions issued at the same time bring the same curious facts to light and are a significant commentary upon the meaning of the First Prayer Book. No one was to counterfeit the Mass. No one was to kiss the Table. No one was to shift the Book. No one was to ring the sacring bell, or set a light on the Lord's Table. In addition to that, it was forbidden to teach purgatory and the invocation to the saints ; to worship images, relics or lights, or to tell the holy beads. Nor were they to use holy water, oil, the chrism, or to creep to the Cross or altars.

It only shows that it was not an easy matter to dislodge Popery. Only one thing was possible therefore. There must be a new Prayer Book.

What were the main things, theological and political, working at that time towards the production of the revised Prayer Book of 1552 *?*

The main things were these.

In the first place, a very decided change of view was taking place or had taken place in the minds of the first Prayer Book compilers. It was a change of view that was gradual but definite ; slow, but remarkably sure. It was of the nature of what we would now call evangelical and Scriptural enlightenment. It was in the direction of higher and deeper spiritual insight. That is, it was away from Rome towards the Scriptures ; away from medieval to New Testament truth. Nor was it, as has often been said, primarily or mainly the result of outside interference or suggestion. Its origin was the work of the Holy Spirit ; its animus, evangelical determination.

In the second place, it is evident that with the compilers holding different views, the Prayer Book would be altered to represent those views. It is of primary importance, therefore, that the reader should understand that the chief factor of explanation with regard to the Second Prayer Book was the growing enlightenment of our Bishop Reformers. The views of the men are of primary historical and critical importance. *What they did* can only be rightly understood in the light of *their reason for doing it.* They were all of them growing very rapidly in light. The Holy Spirit was daily enlightening their eyes through the pages of the inspired Word. As they acquired light, they became more and more dissatisfied not only with the Romanism but with the Lutheranism of the First Prayer Book. In a word, they were dissatisfied with their own work. It was frankly admitted that in the First Prayer Book some concessions had been made

out of respect for antiquity, and also for the infirmity of the day in which they lived. But, as the months went by, they saw that a Romish-Protestant-Lutheran compromise Prayer Book was an absolute impossibility. They determined to produce a Book that was freed from all the remnants of Romanism, and to give to the people a Book that was Anglican, not Lutheran, purely Protestant, not semi-Romish. (*Original Letters*, Park. Soc., II, p. 535.)

There can be no doubt also that, in the meantime, the King, young as he was, was spurring the Bishops on in the direction of greater and stronger reform.[1]

At the same time, too, three of the most brilliant of the foreign reformers were giving most helpful advice.

The first was Peter Martyr Vermilius, of Florence in Italy, who was invited to England in November, 1547, and was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford in 1548, one of the most prominent of the reformation theologians on the Continent. Martyr was a man of remarkable erudition. In theology he would be called, in modern parlance, a thorough evangelical. On the one hand, he was not a Lutheran, or, on the other, a Zwinglian. He held the golden mean of the Church of England between an un-Scriptural sacramentarianism, and an equally un-Scriptural anti-sacramentarianism.

The next man was Martin Bucer, born in Alsace, a thorough Protestant, as far as Romanism was concerned, but with a more pronounced leaning perhaps to Lutheran-

[1] The letters of the day throw a remarkable light upon this. "The King is most anxious for purity, and is urgent for a serious reformation; and those who possess the greatest influence in the Council are seeking the same." "Our King is such an one for his age as the world has never seen." (*Orig. Lett.*, Park. Soc., pp. 76, 82, 543.) "You have never seen in the world for these thousand years so much erudition united with piety and sweetness of disposition," wrote Bishop Hooper. And Bucer, in one of his letters, declared: "The King is godly and learned to a miracle—no study delights him more than the Holy Scriptures." He must have been a very remarkable boy.

ism than his friend Peter Martyr. He was Regius Professor of Divinity in Cambridge in 1550, and died in 1551.

The third, John A'Lasco, was a Polish nobleman by birth, a Roman Catholic Bishop by nomination, and a Protestant exile for the Gospel's sake. He was what would be called to-day an out and out Protestant and evangelical Churchman. He was appointed Superintendent of the Foreign Protestant Churches in London and was, throughout his influential career in England, a stalwart champion of the simple doctrine of the Gospel, and a very conscientious opponent of Rome and Romanism.

It is, of course, absolutely impossible for us in these days exactly to gauge the influence that was exerted by these men or what changes were made at their suggestion. But it may be confidently asserted as a historical fact that the idea of the Second Prayer Book being revised by, and the main changes in it being the result of the interference of, these foreign Protestants, is absolutely misleading. Bishop Boyd Carpenter, who certainly cannot be accused of being a partisan Churchman, says in his *History of the Church of England* (p. 192) that "in the compilation of the Prayer Book the predominant influences were English. This is true of both the First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI; but, if one of these Prayer Books is more truly due to English Church initiative than the other, it is the Second Prayer Book." For the Second Prayer Book derived its origin from Convocation, and the First did not. The alterations made in the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI were most certainly the work of English divines, and of English divines who acted on the authority of Convocation. A very striking proof of this is given by Upton, in his *Outlines of the Prayer Book* (pp. 147-155), where he shows that the idea that Cranmer, with his customary pusillanimity, surrendered to the dictation of the extreme foreign reformers, and, though he himself would have preferred the

First Prayer Book, was swept off his feet in a moment of cowardice, is preposterously unhistorical. On the contrary, Martyr says, in a letter to Bucer, in January, 1531, that Cranmer told him " many things were to be changed in the Prayer Book of 1552, but what the corrections were he did not explain to me, nor was I so bold as to ask him." As a matter of fact, Bucer was far higher in his views on the Holy Communion than Cranmer, and some of the things that he pleaded for were intentionally changed by Cranmer. The First Prayer Book of 1549 was much more affected by foreign influence than the Prayer Book of 1552.

If we bear all these things in mind, we shall see not only the reason for revision, but shall be able to judge fairly beforehand what kind of revision it would be.

What were the various steps in the revision of the 1549 *Prayer Book?*

In 1551, a Committee was appointed to review the First Prayer Book. Or, as we should put it in modern language, the Compilation Committee of the Prayer Book of 1549 were re-appointed as a Prayer Book Revision Committee to sit again and revise the First Prayer Book.

Their orders were clear. First of all, they were to make the services so plain, so simple, so unmistakable in their meaning that it would be impossible for any to abuse them or mistake their meaning. There can be no doubt that this meant that they were to eradicate the lingering elements of semi-Romanism. In the second place, they were to make it more perfect. That is, they were to make the Prayer Book more Scriptural, more spiritual, more evangelical; less Romanish, and less Roman Catholic. In the third place, they were to make it more adapted for the people. They were to provide more fully for the people to take part and respond. In the quaint language of the Uniformity Acts they were to make the prayers and fashion of service " more earnest and fit to stir

Christian people to the true honouring of Almighty God."

This, then, was the situation in a nutshell. The same Committee that compiled the Prayer Book of 1549 came together to revise their work, and produce a new Prayer Book. But they came with more enlightened eyes and deeper evangelical resolve; with clear orders; with full power; and all of one mind.

In 1548, they had the Roman Sarum Missal in Latin to revise. In 1551, they had the Anglican Prayer Book in English to revise. To construct an Anglican service was indeed a tremendous task. Now all that they have to do is to remove the elements that are of doubtful Scripturalness, and to alter phrases that would give offence to the reformed mind. There was no thought of constructing a fresh service. Their object was simply to take the former Prayer Book, and make it more suitable for the service of the English Church.

In the light, therefore, of what they did, we should be able to see very clearly what the Revision Committee considered improvement. It is interesting to study the lines along which they proceeded in order to attain the perfection that was set before them as their standard of achievement. Briefly speaking, the lines may be summarized as follows:

1. What they altered; the alterations.
2. What they added; the additions.
3. What they abolished; the abolitions.

The writer has sometimes conjured before his mind an imaginary scene in 1551-52. Peering into a room in Windsor or Lambeth, you would have seen around the table the workshop of the workmen engaged upon the production of the Prayer Book of 1552. There is upon each face a look of earnest resolve, deep and strong; their countenances are illumined with the strange and solemn light of Scriptural knowledge and spiritual power. We question them.

What is this work upon which you are engaged?

Revision, is the answer.

What revision?

Prayer Book revision.

What Book are you revising?

The First English Church Prayer Book of 1549.

And what for?

The Book was imperfect. It was unacceptable. It did not satisfy the needs of the Church people of England. It was abused, and largely refused. Wrong interpretations were put upon it. It was MIS-taken by Bishop Gardiner and the Romanists.

What are you going to do?

We are going to perfect it.

In what way?

By purifying the doctrine. By prohibiting Romish ritual. By making more perfect the people's part, explaining to them how they are to join in every service.

And your reason for doing this?

God has shown us by His Holy Word a more perfect knowledge of His Son Jesus Christ. Little by little we have been putting away our Romish ignorance. God of his mercy has given us spiritual light.

But on what authority are you doing it?

On the authority of the King, and of the Convocation.

And so the workmen, strong in faith and determined to give God the glory and the people of the realm a pure and simple worship, proceeded with their work, unhampered by any opposing forces, and determined so to purify and simplify the services of the Church of England that any *re*-Romanizing of it would be impossible.

As to the actual results of their revision. The most important things that they introduced into the various parts of the services may be conveniently summarized

for the reader, as has been said, under the headings of the things they added, the additions ; the things they altered, the alterations ; and the things they abolished, the abolitions. Of these, it would be hard to say which was the most important. They were all of them important. And though one section may be thought more essential by some, and some more essential by others, taken as a whole they reveal a completeness and unity of work and purpose that prove beyond all controversy the mind and will of the revisers.

What were the more important of the things they added?

Of these the most striking were the introductory portions of the Morning and Evening Services ; the Sentences before the Exhortation, the General Confession, and the Absolution. These things very clearly show at the outset their determination as well as their spiritual enlightenment, for the four opening parts of Morning and Evening Prayer are among the most evangelical features of the liturgical system of the Church of England. They emphasize of set purpose the fundamentals of the religion of Jesus Christ ; the Scriptural warnings and invitations that set forth the gravity of guilt and the grace of God ; a confession of sin that is almost unexampled in its simplicity and beauty ; and a declaration of God's pardoning and absolving gift that is the very Gospel in epitome. But more than that. These opening sections of the Morning and Evening Services of the Church of England introduced very nobly and very prominently the people's part in the service of the Church. For the first time in the history of England's Church, the people were given their right, as the priests of God, to participate in the services. For the first time they read : " A General Confession to be said OF THE WHOLE CONGREGATION " ; " THE PEOPLE shall answer " ; " Then shall be read two Lessons distinctly with A LOUD VOICE THAT THE PEOPLE

MAY HEAR"; "Then shall be said the Creed by the Minister AND THE PEOPLE"; "then the Ministers, Clerks AND PEOPLE shall say the Lord's Prayer." These were at once epoch-making and epoch-marking words. They inaugurated a new era in the history of the Church of England. Nothing had ever been known like it before in the long and chequered history of England's Church. The Reformers knew full well what they were doing. The vision of a people's service and the people's right to participate in every part of the service had become very clear before their minds. And now in the Church of England it is no longer, as it was in the First Prayer Book, a mere abstract theory of the right of the people to join in the service. This participation has been made an accomplished fact. It was a significant proof of the democratic glory of the Church of England.

In the Communion Service, the most prominent addition was the insertion, at the very opening of the service, of the Ten Commandments, followed by the Kyries, "Lord, have mercy upon us." It was a very remarkable and the most original feature of our Communion Service, as there was nothing like it in the Sarum Mass or the Primitive Liturgies. The Commandments and the Kyries may have been suggested by one of our Bishops, but it is probable perhaps that Cranmer got the idea from the Lutheran Service Books. In the German Reformed Mass, they came just before the Confession and Absolution.

Then there were inserted, also, those words which have ever since been one of the notable features of Anglicanism, the second part of the words of administration: "Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving"; and the words, at the delivery of the Cup: "Drink this in remembrance that Christ's Blood was shed for thee, and be thankful." (See Upton's *Outlines of Prayer Book History*, Chapter V, for a very fine study on the Words of Administration.)

And then there were added, too, those great and revealing words, as far as the true position of the Church of England goes, with regard to the difference between our Communion Service and the Mass: the last Post-Communion Rubric, the declaration on kneeling, commonly known as The Black Rubric. It contained, substantially, the teaching of the 29th Article of 1552-53, and is the protest of the Church of England against any adoration of the Sacramental Bread and Wine, as idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians, and against the real and essential Presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood, " for the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven, and not here." This declaration on kneeling, by the way, had a very curious history. The Council of Trent, in its thirteenth session in October, 1551, passed a vigorous curse on the people that would say that the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ are not IN the Sacrament after consecration, and also against any who said that Christ was not to be adored in the Sacrament, or that the Sacrament was not to be exhibited to the people to be adored, and that the worshippers thereof are idolaters. The Church of England's answer to that was sharp and strong. Cranmer felt that, as a Churchman, he ought to leave no stone unturned to guard the Church against such idolatry and so, in Article XXIX, he flung down the gauntlet to the Church of Rome. In October, 1552, Knox, as a royal chaplain, thinking mainly of the Roman danger entailed, raised quite a storm by speaking against kneeling at the Lord's Supper. Now the Prayer Book of 1552, which was just coming out, had the Rubric: " Then shall the Minister deliver it (the Communion) to the people in their hands kneeling " and Cranmer saw that no time was to be lost if the Book was to be well received. He wrote a letter to the Council—a very remarkable letter in its way—trusting that their Lordships would not be moved with these " glorious and unquiet spirits who can like nothing but that is after their own fancy, and cease

not to make trouble and disquietness," and showing that the people are kneeling in the two prayers before and that if they were to rise up and stand or sit for receiving the Sacrament and then were at once to kneel down again, it would look like a contemptuous rather than a reverent receiving of the Sacrament. The result of this was that the declaration on kneeling, which was signed by the King, was added to the Prayer Book of 1552, and though they only had four days in which to do it, it is found in nearly every copy of the known editions of 1552. If the banner of the Church of England is flung out anywhere, it is flung out here, with the great words inscribed upon it: No Reservation. No Elevation. No Transubstantiation. No Adoration. (See the suggestive article in Tomlinson's *The Prayer Book Articles and Homilies*, pp. 254-68.)

What were the chief among the things they altered?

It would be impossible, in the space that we have at our disposal, to set forth all the alterations. They can be found in any of the popular editions of the First and Second Prayer Books now to be had. But the most significant are in the Communion Service.

The whole Service practically was transformed and reformed. Many of the changes, of course, were relatively of far less importance than others. For instance, after the opening prayer, "Almighty God, unto whom all hearts be open, all desires known," in the Prayer Book of 1549 a Psalm was appointed, called the Introit, which, in the Sarum Service, was a Psalm chanted as the priest proceeded to the altar to celebrate the Mass. There was really nothing in it particularly offensive to the Protestant mind, or doctrinally dangerous. But they struck it out; possibly, or probably, on account of its association with the Mass.

Then after the Introit, the priest was to say or the clerk

sing, three times each, " Lord, have mercy upon us." That was struck out. The object of it was more truly provided for in the Kyries after the Commandments.

Then they took the Gloria in Excelsis, which came then at the very beginning of the service, and was one of the great features of the opening of the Sarum Mass, and boldly transferred it, in defiance of all so-called Catholic traditions, to the very end of the service. The reason for this is probably found in their desire to do everything they possibly could to make our Communion Service conform to the original Supper of our Saviour. In Matt. xxvi, 30, and Mark xiv, 26, they found that in the original Institution they ended the Lord's Supper with a hymn. And so, to make the service as nearly as possible like the first Institution, they put this glorious hymn at the end of the Lord's Supper, in our Church.

Then they took nearly the whole of the service that, in the First Prayer Book, came after the Consecration Prayer, and transferred it bodily to an earlier part of the service. For the reader must remember that in the First Prayer Book the great Consecration Prayer came at a much earlier period of the Communion Service than now, and that the " Ye that do truly," the General Confession, the Absolution and the Comfortable Words were all AFTER, not before, the Consecration Prayer. They transferred these to the place that they now have in our Communion Service. Then they inserted after the Comfortable Words the Sursum corda (Lift up your hearts), the Proper Prefaces and the Ter Sanctus (Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts).

That this alteration was carefully made, clearly shows that it was a part of their fixed resolve to alter the service along the lines of what they considered to be a perfect revision, in accordance with the New Testament and the apostolic standard.

But by far the greatest alteration, as it is the most important for the modern Churchman to understand, was

the great change that they made in connection with what was the three-fold Consecration Prayer in the First Prayer Book.[1] For it must be remembered that the storm centre of all the ecclesiastical controversies of the day, not only in the English Church, but throughout the Continent, was the Office of the Holy Communion. In the First Prayer Book, the three prayers which are now separated were all one. There was just one long prayer when the priest turned to the altar and began with what is now called The Prayer for the Church Militant. Then followed, without a break, what is now the Consecration Prayer. And then followed, also without a break, the Prayer of Sacrifice which is now at the end of the service under the familiar words, "O Lord and heavenly Father, we thy humble servants."

Now what did they do? They simply divided this great prayer into three absolutely distinct prayers. They not only divided it into three prayers; but they put the prayers far apart. They sundered it so completely that it could not be joined together again. They took the first prayer and put it where it is now in our Communion Service, right after the Offertory Sentences, with the words: "Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth." A significant thing about this was the addition of the words "*here in earth*," intentionally inserted so as to exclude all possibility of prayers for the departed. In order, too, that there might be no possibility of misinterpretation, they struck out the words: "We commend to thy mercy all other thy servants which are departed."

Then, after a long space, in which there came a dozen

[1] The reader is referred not only to a copy of the First Prayer Book, which should be studied most attentively, but also to the Scottish Liturgy for the Celebration of the Eucharist, and to the Book of Common Prayer according to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. In both of these the great three-fold prayer of 1549 has, with certain omissions and alterations, been re-established.

or more sections of the service, they inserted the second section of this great prayer which we now call the Consecration Prayer. By putting it into a distinct position by itself, central and of great importance, they made it THE Consecration Prayer Proper. Then they substituted for the word ' celebrate ' the word ' continue ' and, as we shall presently see, they omitted entirely the Invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the elements.

Then, and perhaps this was by far the most significant feature of the great dislocation act, they actually took the third part of the Consecration Prayer : " Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the institution of thy dearly beloved Son, our Saviour Jesu Christ, we thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before thy divine majesty, with these thy holy gifts, the memorial which thy Son willed us to make . . . . entirely desiring thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our prayer of sacrifice and thanksgiving," and they transferred it, with significant omissions, AS AN ALTERNATIVE PRAYER, to its position AFTER the reception of the elements and the Lord's Prayer. In this position it has ever since stood, and still stands in every Prayer Book of the Church of England throughout the world.

This great dislocation was so extraordinary, so carefully carried out, that there can be no doubt that the revised Prayer Book of 1552 was an evidence of the serious resolve of the revisers intentionally to sweep away everything that savoured of the old Canon of the Mass in the Sarum Use of the Church of Rome. The sagacious remarks of Gasquet in his comment upon the Second Book of 1552 are historically accurate. The intercession for the living and the dead, in the Prayer Book of 1549, undoubtedly seemed to point to the Mass as a propitiatory sacrifice. The prayer for the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the gifts on the altar savoured of transubstantiation. The Prayer of Humble Access which, in 1549, was said before the altar after the Consecration might have been con-

strued and was construed as an Act of adoration. It was, therefore, put before the Prayer of Consecration where there could be no such possibility of MIStaking. These changes, as he says, could not have been accidental. There was only one reason: "That it should be henceforth impossible to trace in the Communion Service of the Church of England any resemblance, however innocuous, to the ancient Mass." (Gasquet, B.C.P., *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 289-91.) Or, as it has been put in more modern language; by transferring the Prayer for the Church Militant to the first and putting the Prayer of Consecration at the last, they removed from the Eucharistic Service, so-called, its 'Catholic' character and they removed the Consecration Prayer from its 'Catholic' place, and wrested from the service, as a whole, any possibility of a 'Catholic' wresting of the manifest teaching of the Church of England.

There were other alterations in the Communion Service, all of them being most significant. The fourth Rubric at the opening of the Service, which has ever since stood unaltered in the Church of England, was a most significant alteration. In the First Prayer Book it was, "The Priest, standing humbly AFORE THE MIDST OF THE ALTAR, shall say the Lord's Prayer," etc. In 1552, it was changed to "And the Priest standing at the north side of the Table shall say." These were remarkable and essential changes. The word 'Altar' disappeared. The word 'Table' took its place. The altarward position (involving the idea of sacrificial worship) vanished. The north side came in "to avoid the fashion of the priest's standing with his face towards the east, as is the Popish practice."

In the administration of the elements, the words: "When he delivereth the Sacrament of the Body of Christ, he shall say" and "The Minister delivering the Sacrament of the Blood," were altered into: "When he delivereth the Bread he shall say" and "The Minister that delivereth the Cup shall say."

In the last Rubric of 1549 it was said : " It is thought convenient the people commonly receive the Sacrament of Christ's Body in their mouths at the Priest's hand." In the Prayer Book of 1552, it was altered into " in their hands " or, as it is now, " into their hands." (Bishop Dowden contends that the use of the plural has no reference whatever to receiving the Bread in the two hands crossed. A comparison of the First and Second Prayer Books makes this very clear. " Into their mouths " certainly did not mean " into their TWO mouths." *Further Studies*, pp. 230-34.)

The reader who cares to follow this subject will find that from the beginning to the end of the service the alterations, some of them of a small and non-essential character and others of more serious import, were made by men who had the evident intention of deleting from the Book of 1552 every detail that could possibly savour of a Roman or Romanistic character. (See the author's work, *The Protestantism of the Prayer Book.*)

What were the more important of the things they abolished ?

The things that they abolished were most significant. They contain a study in contrasts that in its cumulative force is simply overwhelming. It is evident that the revisers as they sat and conferred together in that Revision Committee must have subjected each detail of the First Prayer Book to the most rigid examination with the searchlight of truth. They focussed their gradually enlightened eyes upon every feature that could possibly give offence to the Scriptural and spiritual mind, and with a courage that seems almost incredible to us when we consider the times, they removed everything that could be construed as favouring Romish ritual or teaching.

To begin with, the very heart of the Romish system, auricular confession, was practically abolished by the alterations in the second Exhortation, " Let him come to

me or some other discreet and learned Minister of God's Word," by the deletion of the words, " the auricular and secret confession to the priest." This was a significant act of reformation. It was the transfer of the act of confession and absolution from the private confessional box in the Church to the vicarage or vestry of the clergyman. There can be no doubt that was its intention, for instead of the words, " let him come to me or to some other discreet, and learned *priest*—and confess his sin and grief *secretly* " and " the *secret* and auricular confession to the priest," the Church of England now has this: " Let him come to me, or some other discreet and earnest *Minister* of God's Word . . . . that by the ministry of God's Holy Word he may receive the benefit of absolution," etc. The Church of England from that day to this has stereotyped the idea of the people's pardon, in the General Confession and Absolution in Morning and Evening Prayer, and there can be no doubt that this official declaration of God's pardon and absolution was to serve as a substitution for, and discouragement of, private and secret auricular confession. The people of England's Church were henceforth taught that they were to go straight to God, not to the priest, for their pardon. And, as if to put the matter beyond a peradventure, in the Visitation of the Sick, the words before the Absolution, " And the same form of absolution shall be used in all private confessions " were excised.

The various signs and signings of the Cross that occurred very copiously throughout the Book were all omitted. Only one was left, that which is now in our Church of England, the sign of the Cross upon the child's forehead after Baptism. It is striking to read in the thirtieth Canon, the Church's apology for retaining the custom " since the abolishing of Popery " because it has been accompanied by " sufficient *cautions* and exceptions *against all Popish superstition and error.*" Then all the permitted genuflections, ritual vestments, intercessions,

invocations, were most carefully removed. The singing of the Agnus Dei, the Reservation, the Unction, in the Visitation and Communion of the Sick, and many other things that might have been retained without serious doctrinal significance being attached to them, were carefully removed, doubtless on account of their identification through long tradition and usage with Romish ceremonies and Roman teaching. These and a multitude of other things stood then and now stand as index fingers pointing to the realities of the purified, spiritualized, and Scripturalized service of the Church of England. This may be seen at a glance if we put side by side in "A Table of Contrast" the forms, and ritual, and services, and words, and teachings, and ceremonial in the Prayer Book of 1549 with those of the Prayer Book of 1552, and the Prayer Book of to-day:

INTRODUCED In Prayer Book of 1549.	ABOLISHED In Prayer Book of 1552.	ABSENT In Prayer Book to-day.
Auricular Confession -	Abolished	Absent
Prayer for the Dead -	,,	,,
*Sign of the Cross—frequent	,,	,,
Trine Immersion, Chrism, and the Chrisome -	,,	,,
Reservation of the Elements - - -	,,	,,
Communion at Burials -	,,	,,
Permitted Genuflections -	,,	,,
Ritual Vestments - -	,,	,,
Word 'Altar' - -	Changed to 'Table'	'Table'
Eastward position - -	Changed to 'North Side'	'North Side'
Real presence in the Elements - - -	Abolished	Absent

* Except in Service for Baptism only.

INTRODUCED In Prayer Book of 1549.	ABOLISHED In Prayer Book of 1552.	ABSENT In Prayer Book to-day.
Mixed Chalice	Abolished	Absent[1]
Intercession of Angels	,,	,,
Agnus Dei	,,	,,
Wafer Bread	,,	,,
Prayer of Sacrifice before the Communion	,,	,,
Pastoral Staff	,,	,,
First of Words of Administration only	Second half only	Now both

The work of the revisers of the First Prayer Book, or rather of the compilers of the Second Prayer Book, was finished in the spring of 1552. On the 14th of April it was authorized and legally established by the Second Act of Uniformity which passed both Houses ; and it probably received,[2] what the First Prayer Book did not receive, the authority of Convocation. In the month of August it was printed. On the 1st of November, All Saints' Day, it came into use in every Church in England—a day to be remembered by the sons and daughters of the Church of England, as one of the greatest dates in her history. The Second Prayer Book went through eight separate editions. It was restored, with a few very minor changes, in 1559, by the Act of Uniformity of Elizabeth. It is practically and substantially, in all its main features, as we shall presently show, the Prayer Book of the Church of England to-day. The Act that established it, gave a certain degree of praise to the First Prayer Book, and called it " A very godly Order, set forth to be used in the mother tongue within this Church of England, agreeable to the Word of God," which meant, not that the whole of the First Prayer Book

[1] Permitted by Lambeth if not mixed ceremonially but in the Vestry.
[2] Perry II, 112.

was agreeable to the Word of God, as some have curiously misunderstood, but that ITS USE IN THE MOTHER TONGUE, that is, the fact that it was IN ENGLISH, was agreeable to the Word of God. The words "agreeable to the Word of God" evidently referred only to the use of the mother tongue according to the 24th Article. (See Tomlinson on *The Prayer Book*, p. 20.) The Act then went on to say that the revised Prayer Book (1552) was brought forth because the First Prayer Book of 1549 had been wrongly used by "the ministers and mistakers," which meant, not that the ministers and mistakers were the foreigners like Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr, because they were NOT ministers or officiants under the Prayer Book of 1549 at all, but that some of the ministers, that is, the ordinary incumbents (the Romish priests), the parish priests, wilfully *mis*took, or intentionally changed and twisted the meaning of the First Prayer Book.

In fact, it was clearly stated in the Act of Uniformity that the Second Prayer Book was to be regarded by the Church as an explained and perfected Prayer Book. It was designed to be a Prayer Book that was earnest and fitted to stir the Christian people of England to the true honouring of Almighty God. And more than that, the 35th Article of the Forty-two Articles of 1553, gave it still higher praise. It declared that it was not only in no point repugnant to the wholesome doctrine of the Gospel, but agreeable thereunto. And even more than that. It was a Prayer Book that furthered and beautified the Gospel not a little and therefore ought to be received with a readiness of mind and thanksgiving by all faithful members of the Church of England. This is very significant when we remember that this Article received the sanction of Convocation. It remained in use for about fourteen months, and it was the first complete Prayer Book of the Church of England, as it now contained the three Ordination Services of the Church of England.

What was and is the special importance of the Prayer Book of 1552 *in the light of the subsequent history of England's Church?*

There can be no doubt, to the impartial student, that the Second Prayer Book had for its objective the completion of the reformation of the liturgical system of the Church of England. It was the serious work of men who attempted, by the grace of God, what seemed almost the impossible. When we consider that England at that time was in a state of national chaos; that there was a very large majority of Romish clergy and Bishops in the Church; that there was among the people a vast predominance of Romanists, some counties being, to a man, of the old Romish tradition; it certainly was an evidence of the wonderful working of the power and of the grace of God, that the Second Prayer Book should ever have been established at all. Another point of the greatest importance also is that the Second Prayer Book was the handiwork of Anglicans. It was almost entirely of Anglican, not foreign initiative. As Bishop Boyd Carpenter said: "It is true in the compilation both of the First and Second Prayer Book of Edward VI the predominant influences were English; but *if one* of these Prayer Books *is more* truly due to English Church initiative than the other, it is the Second Prayer Book." (*History of the Church of England*, p. 192.) It represented, too, the final, not the transitional views of our reforming Bishops. The First Prayer Book represented the transitional views of the Church of England, and reflected a transient phase of Anglican history. The Second Prayer Book represented, according to the legal language of the Act of Uniformity, the fully perfect views of the Church of England. It represented, also, authorized not private opinion. It was not the work of a few enthusiasts of extreme Protestant proclivities. It received the solemn imprimatur of Parliament, if not of Convocation. And, last

of all, and most important, it not only embodied and represented the form of worship and doctrine which the Church of England then assumed; it became the form which is now represented in the Prayer Book of the Church of England throughout the world.

In other words, what they did then was done permanently.

With one or two exceptions, such as the omission of the first part of the words in the administration of the Holy Communion, the whole of their revision of 1552 has been embodied in our Prayer Book. The north side is still the legal position. The surplice is still the legal vestment of every clergyman of the Church of England. The prayers are still in their order and place in the Prayer Book. The Articles are still our standard. The Black Rubric is still in every Prayer Book. And the Holy Communion Service of the Book of Common Prayer to-day is not the semi-Protestant, semi-Romish form of the Prayer Book of 1549, but the beautiful, Scriptural, spiritual Communion Service of the Lord's Supper of 1552. In substance, order, everything in 1552 remains intact to-day. Gasquet's conclusion with regard to the Book is worth quoting. His words are significant: "As regards the English Book, what it was in 1552 it practically remains to the present day. The position which was deliberately abandoned in 1549, and still further departed from in 1552, has never been recovered." (*Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 307.) But, as we have said before, it would be more accurately stated from the Anglican viewpoint, if it were worded thus: *The position which was deliberately attained and established by the Church of England in the Prayer Book of* 1552 *has never been abandoned.*

The Prayer Book of the Church of England to-day is the triumph of 1552. The service of the Church of England throughout the world to-day, as used by millions of Anglicans, is the victory of the Prayer Book of 1552.

The Mass of Sarum is gone for ever. The great

so-called Catholic elements of the First Prayer Book will be searched for in vain in the Prayer Book to-day. But the great elements of Divine Worship fought for and secured in the Prayer Book of 1552 still stand in the minds and mouths of millions of present-day Anglicans as the permanent monument of the sanctified genius of the reforming Bishops of the Church of England.

APPENDIX I

THE ORDINATION SERVICES

The Ordinal of 1552 is a most interesting study, for in essence and effect it completely transformed the whole future of the ministry of the Church of England. Up till 1550 every Minister of the Church of England was ordained by the Sarum Ordinal of the Roman Pontifical, and was made a priest (sacerdos) with power to offer sacrifice to God and to celebrate masses. The one supreme and essential ideal of his ordination was that everything in the service, the words, the ceremony, and the tradition of the instrument combined to make him a proper and valid priest according to the intention and teaching of the Church of Rome. When the Prayer Book compilers came to the work of constructing an ordination service, they came as men whose views with regard to the nature and purpose of the ministry were completely different from the ideas of their early days : and nothing but the profoundest change of views with regard to the nature of the Christian ministry could have effected such an absolute transformation of the ordination service. The first Prayer Book of 1549 contained no Ordinal, although it is printed in many modern editions of the

book. As a matter of fact, the Ordinal did not exist at the time of the first Prayer Book, for it did not come into being until 1550, when twelve Royal Commissioners were appointed " to devise orders for the creation of bishops and priests." It seems, however, that before this time Cranmer and Ridley had gone to work and drawn up an ordination service, so that in a very short time the book was ready. It was printed in March, 1550, and was used for the first time on June 29th at Bishop Ponet's consecration. It was, indeed, to repeat the well-known phrase, an epoch-making and epoch-marking production. In form and general content it was almost identical with the ordination service in our Prayer Book to-day, containing the Ordering of Deacons, the Ordering of Priests, and the Ordering of Bishops, now entitled the Consecration of Bishops. To the Churchman of that day it must have been a very revolutionary piece of work. Almost everything that they associated with ordination was wanting. There was such a change of incidence, such a change of emphasis. For centuries the emphasis of the central ordination service, that of the priest, was upon his character as a sacrificer; and the most dramatic and significant of all the ceremonies was the moment when the Bishop put upon him the chasuble, the all-essential vestment of the sacrificing priest, and pronounced the solemn and all-important words, as he handed to him a paten and a chalice: " Receive power to offer sacrifice to God." Now in the first Ordinal of 1550 all was changed. There was no chasuble imposed, and there was no reference whatever to the all-essential words of the sacrament sacerdotal. Everything pertaining to the making of a Roman, that is, a sacrificing priest was carefully omitted, and instead the Bishop delivered to each one the Bible in the one hand and the chalice with the bread in the other, with the words:

" Take thou authority to preach the Word of God and to minister the Holy Sacraments in this congregation."

And even here this is significant, that there is no reference to the Eucharist exclusively, but only a reference to the sacraments ; that is simply Baptism and the Lord's Supper. (Article XXVI, 1552.)

The reader can understand then in a moment how deep and sweeping, as Bishop Dowden says, is the change from the Roman Ordinal, and how vast the change of standpoint exhibited by the Roman Sarum Ordinal and the rite in our Anglican Churches to-day. (Dowden, *Further Studies*, pp. 303, 304). In the Prayer Book of 1552 slight changes were made showing the Reformers' progressive Protestantism, if we may use the phrase. In the Ordering of deacons, the words, " having upon him a plain Albe," and " putting on a tunicle," are omitted ; and in the Ordering of priests, the delivering of the chalice with the bread is omitted, and from that day to this in every Ordinal of the Church of England throughout the world, the Bible only is delivered. There can be no doubt now, that the emphasis of the Church of England is laid upon the minister as a presbyter-minister, a man whose function is not sacerdotal, but ambassadorial and pastoral. As Bishop Dowden wisely says, the Anglican Church throws the main emphasis on the duties of the priest as Pastor. (*Ibid.*, pp. 314-316.) And more. Throughout the Prayer Book the word is ever presbyter and never sacerdos, for whatever the priest of the Church of England is, he is certainly not either in manner or function or character as a priest of the Church of Rome. It is impossible, therefore, for any Churchman to believe that the Church of Rome in face of these facts could ever recognize the orders of the Church of England. For as the Bull of Pope Leo XIII declared : " In the whole (English Church) Ordinal not only is there no clear mention of the sacrifice, of consecration, of the sacerdotium, and of the power of consecrating and offering sacrifice, but every trace of these things which had existed in those prayers of the Catholic rite not wholly rejected, was

deliberately removed and struck out." Verily every true-hearted Churchman may say, as he reads these words: Thank God! Thank God![1]

APPENDIX II

THE COMMUNION SERVICE OF THE PRAYER BOOK OF 1552 COMPARED WITH THE COMMUNION SERVICE IN THE PRAYER BOOK TO-DAY

A SIMPLE comparison will make this plain. Suppose we place in parallel columns the Communion Service of the Prayer Book of 1552 and the Prayer Book of to-day. The reader will then see with his own eyes their identity, and judge for himself:

1552.	*To-day.*
The title.	The same.
The four Ante-Communion Rubrics.	The same, substantially, and the fourth verbatim, with the exception of 'the' for 'this' and 'the people kneeling' which, in 1552, was in the next Rubric.
The Opening Collect.	The same.
The Rubric.	The same, with slight addition.
The Ten Commandments and the Kyrie.	The same.

[1] The student who desires to go more deeply into this subject is referred to the *Liturgies of Edward VI*, Parker Society; *The Prayer Book, Articles and Homilies*, by Tomlinson, pp. 269, 283; Gasquet, Chap. XV; *The Protestantism of the Prayer Book*, Chap. IX; *The Tutorial Prayer Book*, pp. 497, 533; and more specifically to Bishop Dowden's *Further Studies*, Chap. XV.

1552.	*To-day.*
Collects for the Day and King.	The same.
The Epistle and Gospel.	The same.
The Nicene Creed.	The same.
The two Rubrics before the Sentences.	Now three, with notices of briefs, etc.
The Sentences.	The same.
The Rubric with regard to the Offertory.	The same, with additional provision for the PRESENTING of the Offertory and the PLACING of the bread and wine upon the table.
The Prayer for Christ's Church Militant here in earth.	The same, with one or two verbal alterations.
The Four Exhortations.	Three almost identical.
The Rubric and General Confession.	The same, with a slight alteration in the Rubric, the words 'either by one of them or by the priest himself' being wanting.
The Absolution, with preceding Rubric.	The same.
The Comfortable Words.	The same.
The 'Lift up your hearts.'	The same.
The five Proper Prefaces.	The same.
The 'Therefore with angels' and the 'Holy, Holy, Holy.'	The same, with the addition of the words 'be sung or said.'
The Prayer of Humble Access and Rubric.	The same, with the words 'The Lord's Table' for 'God's Board.'
The Consecration Prayer, with the preceding Rubric, enlarged in 1662.	The same, with the addition of the rubrical directions of 1662.
The Words of Administration, the second half 'Take and eat this' and 'Drink this in remembrance.'	The two forms are combined. 'The Body of our Lord, etc. Take and eat this, etc.' 'The Blood of our Lord, etc. Drink this, etc.'

1552.	*To-day.*
The two Rubrics before the Prayer of Thanksgiving.	Two rubrics with regard to additional consecration and the placing and covering of the elements.
The Lord's Prayer.	The same.
The first alternative Post-Communion Prayer, commonly called the Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving Prayer.	The same.
The second alternative Post-Communion Prayer.	The same.
The Gloria in Excelsis.	The same.
The Rubric.	The same.
'The Peace of God.'	The same.
The Rubric before the Post-Communion Collects.	The same.
The six Post-Communion Collects, after the Offertory when there is no Communion.	The same.
The Post Communion Rubrics.	The first three, the same, with one or two non-essential changes, and an additional one with regard to the clergy in Cathedral and College Churches.
The Rubrics with regard to the wheat bread.	The same, with an additional one with regard to non-reservation.
The sixth Rubric with regard to three Communions and the Collects.	Practically the same, but divided into two.
The Black Rubric, so-called.	Practically the same, but the words 'real and essential presence' are now 'any corporal presence.'

Nothing could be more convincing than the comparisons of such a table as this. If the reader had time to take the Mass of Sarum, such, for instance, as Dodd's *Translation of the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass*, and compare it with the Prayer Book of 1549, he will simply stand amazed to find that EVEN IN 1549 THERE IS SO LITTLE LEFT of the pre-Reformation Anglican Mass Service. But when he compares the Prayer Book of 1549 with that of to-day he will be amazed to see how much of the 1549 service has been left out, HOW MUCH OF THAT SERVICE has been altered, and how, in comparison with the service of to-day, it is in every essential teaching and every essential detail very different from our Communion Service. (See the last word upon the subject, *The English Rite*, by Brightman, pp.638-721.) But when he takes the Prayer Book of 1552 and compares it with to-day he will be astonished to find that, placed side by side, they are identical, and their identity is the more remarkable because it is the fashion of so many Church Prayer Book historians to refer to the Second Prayer Book as if it were a discarded, a foreign, and transient volume. Frere, in the revised *History of Procter*, speaks of " the ill-starred Book of 1552 which began its brief career," and no one would infer from that history that that so-called ill-starred Book, in essence and substance, is the Prayer Book of the Church of England to-day, and that its Communion Service stands practically unaltered in every Prayer Book of the Church of England throughout the world.

With regard to the last Post-Communion Rubric, commonly known as the Black Rubric, a great deal of emphasis has been laid upon the alteration of the words " real and essential " into " corporal," and it has been widely asserted, without much foundation, that the words were altered because they intended to alter the meaning. But the best authorities, such as Scudamore, Stephens, Perry and even such a High Churchman (or, as he would be called to-day, an Anglo-Catholic) as Freeman, asserted

that " no change of doctrinal meaning was intended by the verbal alterations of 1662." As a matter of fact, the words " real and essential " which occur in 1552 were the scholastic terms of Thomas Aquinas' *Philosophical Theology*, and they were simply tantamount to the word ' corporal.' Indeed, as Tomlinson shows (pp. 264-65), they were in the Latin of the 28th Article. Any one who would like to pursue this question further, in order to have a thorough understanding of the subject, is referred to that masterly work by the late Mr. Dimock, entitled, *Papers on the Doctrine of the English Church Concerning the Eucharistic Presence*, pp. 577-86.

Points for Discussion

The discarded service books, such as the missals, manuals, antiphoners, etc., as proofs of the thorough abolition of the Roman Catholic Service in the Church of England, 1550-52.

The light thrown on the teaching of the Church of England in the 25th and 28th Articles by the abolition of altars, and the injunctions to set up the Lord's Board after the form of an honest table.

How are we to explain the extraordinary influence of the boy King, Edward VI ? Analyze Hole's statement that " the piety and character of one little boy saved the Reformation " in the English Church.

The animus of many Church writers against the Second Prayer Book may be explained by their theological bias, but how can we explain the curious failure of some secular historians to understand its meaning ?

CHAPTER XVI

THE PRAYER BOOK IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY

THE reign of Queen Mary is of ominous importance in the history of England. It deserves the attentive consideration of the studious Churchman. In fact, it deserves far more attention than is usually given to it in the average English Church history or history of the Prayer Book. For the reign of Mary throws a light upon the relations of the Church of England to the Church of Rome that the reign of no other English sovereign could throw. It is, of course, impossible in the scope of a work like this to refer to the political aspects of her reign, but it must be admitted that, as we look over the chequered history of the English Church, the saddest as well as the blackest spot is the reign of Queen Mary. If ever a nation neared the Niagara of national destruction, it was England in Queen Mary's reign.

How is it possible to explain the Romanist reaction in Mary's reign, and the national and ecclesiastical decline?

In the first place, the new Queen was absolutely out of touch with the English Constitution. She was also absolutely out of touch with the heart of the English people. All the desires and designs of the sovereign were Ultramontane. The heart of Mary throughout her reign was not beating in sympathy with the aspirations of England. The poor Queen said when she was dying that her heart was in France and that upon it would be found written the word

'Calais.' As a matter of fact, her heart was further away than that. Her heart of hearts was with Spain. She was by birth half-Spanish, drawing her dominant blood from her Spanish mother, Catherine of Arragon. It was undoubtedly from that source that she received her anti-English sentiments, and it was to her mother also, and to the priest, her father confessor, that her Spanish aspirations, her Roman prejudices and her Protestant antipathies may be traced. Mary's reign can only be understood in the light of her early environment and her earliest teaching. From first to last her environment was that of the priest and of the confessional, and everything in her early history tended to sour her nature against England and England's Church. Her familiarity with the Spanish priesthood undoubtedly familiarized her also with the Spanish tradition of the Inquisition which Torquemada had instituted. When you add to this the fact of her father's characteristic of autocratic stubbornness, so manifest in his three children, Mary, Elizabeth and even in the small boy King, it will be easily understood how she prosecuted her ideals with a Tudorial deliberation and thoroughness.

In the next place, her reign throughout was one deep and deliberate resolve to exterminate the Protestantism of the Church of England, and to reverse the effects of its Reformation in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. Her aim was the deliberate aim to destroy the Prayer Book and obliterate in the land the administration of the Lord's Supper. But more. It was her fixed purpose to restore the Mass in its pristine entirety, the priesthood in its power, the Roman Episcopate in its prestige, and the Pope in his supremacy.

What were the various steps by which this was carried out?

The initial steps were the incarceration of the Protestant Bishops, the restoration of the Roman Bishops, and the

re-establishment of the Mass as the centre and sum of the worship of England's Church.

Her first act was indeed prophetic. She brought Bishop Gardiner from the Tower, installed him as her Lord Chancellor and right-hand man, and practically committed to him the plan of the Roman campaign for her reign. The result was that within a few days all preaching was stopped, all Gospel teaching was silenced. No voice was allowed to be raised on behalf of the Bible, or on behalf of the Gospel, or indeed on behalf of the Prayer Book of 1552. Within a very short time the outstanding champions of England's reformed churchmanship, including Cranmer and his brother Primate-Archbishop, Holgate of York, were immured within various prison walls. The Mass was again celebrated in Church after Church throughout the Kingdom long before it was legally authorized. Once more the priest stood before the altar with the old vestments and the old Missal, for it was generally understood that it was only a matter of days before there would be Parliamentary authorization for its restoration.

Within a few weeks, Mary's first Parliament met, and continued from October 5th to December 6th, 1553. The work of destroying the Reformation was carried on apace. As the Bishops who were loyal to the Truth were mostly in prison, it was done practically without let or hindrance, the few voices of objection being speedily suppressed. One of its first acts was to repeal all the Acts relating to religion that had been passed in the reign of Edward VI. This, of course, was the burial service of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI, which the Roman Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation called " the *abominable* Book of Common Prayer ! " The Book passed out of legal existence on the 20th of December, 1553, and on that day the Roman Mass according to the Use of the Church of Sarum was again established. From that time until the reign of Elizabeth, 1559, the service of the Church

of England in every cathedral and parish church in England was practically identical with that performed in St. Peter's in Rome. There can be no doubt with regard to the intention of Mary and Gardiner. All married priests were deposed, and every possible means for the extermination of the reformed clergy was taken. All the Bishops who could be called, in any sense of the word, Protestant, were either imprisoned or went into exile. Though here and there faithful men were found who, by pamphlets and letters and booklets, propagated, with unceasing courage, the principles of the Reformation and even, to small congregations, administered the Holy Communion according to the service of our Prayer Book, England's Churches throughout the realm were re-Romanized.

What were the outstanding events of her reign ecclesiastically, especially those touching the Prayer Book and the Reform movement?

The outstanding ecclesiastical events of the rest of the reign were (1) The trial of the Bishops; (2) The reunion of England's Church and nation with Rome and the Church of Rome; and, (3) The persecution and martyrdom of England's leading Churchmen.

Perhaps nothing could more unmistakably proclaim the difference between the Church of England in the reign of Edward VI and of Mary, than the trial of the great Bishops, Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, in Oxford, for heresy, in April, 1554. It was a remarkable scene. The leading Churchmen of the day flocked to Oxford, where the thirty-three Commissioners in their scarlet robes awaited the arbitrament. Three articles were submitted to our Bishop Reformers, with the three following succinct and unmistakable propositions, which they were asked to affirm or deny:

1. In the Sacrament of the altar, by virtue of the divine word uttered by the priest, the natural body of Christ,

conceived of the Virgin Mary, is really present under the species of bread and wine, and also His natural blood.

2. After consecration the substance of bread and wine no longer remaineth, neither any other substance, save only the substance of Christ, God and Man.

3. In the Mass there is a life-giving propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the living as well as of the dead.

Their repudiation was noble. Knowing what it involved, the three Bishops, one by one, repudiated and denied the Roman dogma. With pleading intensity they were urged to reconsider their final decision, and solemnly and decisively they answered: "WE ARE NOT MINDED TO TURN." Then and there the sentence of heresy was pronounced upon them. But it can never be too frequently reiterated that Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer were burned at the stake as martyrs for the doctrine of the Prayer Book of 1552. That is, they died because they resolved to uphold the teaching of the Communion Service of our Prayer Book.

Soon after this, in July, 1554, Mary was married to Philip, and for the first time in its varied history, England had upon its throne a Spanish King, On July 27th, 1554, Philip and Mary were proclaimed KING and Queen. This marriage of the Queen to Philip of Spain may have hastened the return of the realm to the Roman obedience. But it certainly accentuated the growing repugnance of the people of England to Spain and the Spaniards and all their doings. That marriage was the initiative of the reaction of English feeling in favour of England's separation from Rome, and the re-establishment of the reformation principles of the reign of Edward VI. For Englishmen, Roman Catholic though they were, were beginning to dread, with a deep feeling of English abhorrence, the idea of Spanish supremacy. Deep down in their hearts they revolted against the idea of their dear old England being submerged in a great Austro-Spanish

alliance which would make England a mere little Roman Catholic appendage of a great Roman world empire.

And then came the re-absorption of England and England's Church in the Papacy. The surrender to Rome was sudden and ignominious in the extreme.

On St. Andrew's Day, November 30th, 1554, the union between Rome and England's Church and England's nation was once more consummated. The Pope re-entered England, and the Church of England came back to Rome. The Pope's official representative, Cardinal Pole, arrived in England in November, 1554. He came armed with plenipotentiary powers from the Pope, Julius III, to reunite England once more with the Church of Rome, " to come again to the unity of the Church from the which we were fallen " ! ! An official form of supplication had been drawn up by a Committee of the House of Lords and of the House of Commons for the re-admission to the unity of Rome of the whole body of the realm of England. As Hole says, in his admirable *Manual of English Church History* (pp. 210-12), the words in which the Lords and Commons, as representing the whole people of England, acknowledged the guilt of apostasy and schism, were remarkably like the language of a penitent in the confessional box. The next day witnessed a scene that must have been, in spite of its disgrace and humiliation, a scene of remarkable splendour. The King and Queen of England, with all the representative leaders of England's Church and Nation, assembled in the great hall of Whitehall Palace, fell down upon their knees, and, as they knelt, received from the Pope's Legate absolution for the sin of separation from the Church of Rome, as they acknowledged that sin and desired restoration to the Roman obedience and unity. We can see the pomp and pride of Rome in that moment of triumph at the humiliation of England. We can imagine the superlative haughtiness of the Cardinal's voice as he pronounced the absolution of the repentant nation : " We, by the Apos-

tolic authority given unto us by the most holy Lord Pope, Julius III, do absolve and deliver you, with the whole realm, from all heresy and schism, and we do restore you again unto the unity of our Mother, the Holy Church." Thus did the lost Protestant sheep, the Church and Realm of England, come back again to the Roman Catholic fold.

The reader ought not to allow a historical incident like this to pass without much thinking. For what it really meant was this. It meant that the Prayer Book was gone, and the Mass once more restored. It meant that England and England's Church once more had become what she was for centuries before the Reformation, an integral part of the Roman Catholic Church ; Roman in worship, Roman in union, Roman in doctrine. Not only the nation but the Church was *re*-Romanized. It is a very significant fact that in all the documents, as far as we are able to learn, referring to this extraordinary historical event, the name of the Church of England does not seem to appear. The Concordat with Rome apparently mentions only the Natio Anglicana, not the Ecclesia Anglicana. In the records of the House of Commons, in each case, the parties designated as re-united to the Church of Rome are "this realm and Dominions," "the body of the realm of England and Dominions of the same," "this whole realm and dominions of the same." The words of the Papal Legate also refer only to "the whole realm." But there can be no doubt that the Church of England was identified with the nation of England, and the nation was identified with the Church, and that re-union with the Church of Rome meant, of course, the re-union of the Church of England with the Church of Rome. This is proved by the fact that, within a week, the whole Church, as represented by Convocation, made their separate petition for absolution and, as the King and Queen and the Houses of Parliament, they also were formally and solemnly re-united with Rome. (Wilkins' *Concilia IV*, 111-112, quoted Perry, II, p. 232.) And so the Church of England once

more became Ultramontane in allegiance, Romish in ritual; Roman in doctrine, Roman Catholic in Communion.

A word with regard to the persecutions of the Protestants in Mary's reign. It is hardly within the scope of this work to dwell upon the appalling persecutions that followed. Queen Mary herself was undoubtedly the power behind this ruthless campaign of blood and fire. The hand was the hand of Bonner, but the voice was the voice of Mary. And though the burnings were confined, as far as the laity was concerned, to the middle and the lower classes, the most spectacular were, of course, the burning of the clergy and especially of the Bishops. Five of the best and holiest men England ever knew—Bishop Ferrar of St. David's, Bishop Hooper of Gloucester, and, above all, the great triumvirate of the Reformation, Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, were publicly burned to ashes for confessing the faith of Christ according to the Bible and the Church of England. (Articles XXV-XXVIII.) They died because they refused to acknowledge the real, the corporal presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the consecrated elements, that is, the sacramental teaching of the Church of Rome. It is hardly within the scope of this work, as has already been said, to enlarge on this, but the reader is referred not only to the numerous English Church historians, but especially to that very remarkable work by Bishop J. C. Ryle, entitled: *Facts and Men*, with the suggestive introductory chapter, "Why were our Reformers Burned?" The Bishop's words are significant: "To their faithfulness we owe the existence of the Church of England as it is to-day. The foundations of our Church were cemented with their blood. They died as martyrs for the Second Prayer Book."

The one salient fact, however, to be re-emphasized before we pass from this reign is the important liturgical fact that the Prayer Book of the Church of England was, in the reign of Queen Mary, deliberately exterminated. It was, of course, the Second Prayer Book; and it was

exterminated because it contained the essence of Scripture and spiritual doctrine as opposed to the teaching of the Church of Rome. But it was more especially because its Communion Service, entitled "The Lord's Supper," was absolutely opposed to the whole idea of the Romish Service of the Mass according to the Use of the Church of Sarum. The reign of Queen Mary really teaches deep truths, by contrast. It brings into pre-eminent relief the essential distinctions between our Prayer Book and the Romish Service Books. In the one is the sacerdos (the sacrificing priest); in the other, the presbyter. In the one is the Altar; in the other, the Table. The one is all in Latin; the other is all in English. In the one is complexity and multiplicity of ceremonial; in the other, simplicity and intelligibility. And thereby is proved the unalterable opposition between the two systems of worship.

What were the main factors of Mary's reign that contributed to the recovery of England's Church, and the re-establishment of the English Prayer Book as the organ of its national worship?

There were two factors that were chiefly influential. The first was the deepening growth in Protestant convictions of the English sojourners on the Continent. The second was the reaction caused by the cruelties of the persecutors.

The interim between the death of Edward VI and the coronation of Elizabeth is one of profound importance. A large number of the leaders of the Church of England, men of singular erudition and devoted Churchmanship, who had escaped to the Continent during the Marian Reign of Terror, had found a home and a welcome in many of the centres of Continental reform. In these distant lands, as homesick strangers and pilgrims, their longings for the old Church and the old home were inten-

sified. As the years passed, they became more profoundly fortified in their love for the principles of the Reformation. Their hatred of Rome and all its ways was deepened by the tidings that came to them, from time to time, of the inhuman persecutions of their fellow Churchmen in England.

And when they returned, as return they did *en masse*, on the accession of Elizabeth, they returned unanimously determined to restore the Prayer Book of 1552. There were great names among them, too; names that have since become famous. There were Bishops, like Bishop Barlow and Bishop Scory, and the time-honoured Bishop Coverdale to whom all Churchmen owe so much. There were well-known Church leaders, such as Dean Cox, Dean Haddon, Dean Horne, and Dean Sampson. There were divines of such eminence as Archbishop Grindal, Bishop Jewel, and Churchmen of such fame as Sandys, and King, and Reynolds, and Fox. It is to the courage and clearness and conviction of such men as these that the Church of England owes the restoration of the Prayer Book in the subsequent reign.

At the same time all through this period, too, a change was coming over the feelings of England's people. Little by little, their eyes were being opened to the unbending fixity of the Roman hierarchy, and the unconscionable sternness of the Roman programme. As session succeeded session in the Council of Trent, it became more and more manifest that "No compromise" was the motto of the Roman Church, and that the Roman Church was determined to fasten legally upon every Bishop, priest and layman of England every abuse and superstition, however vain and blasphemous, of the Church of Rome. The people of England are proverbially long suffering. Their patience is incredible. They will stand a great deal, perhaps more than any other nation on the face of the globe. But at last the excesses of the papal régime startled even the ignorant of the common people out of

their apathy. Tennyson undoubtedly put his hand on the very pulse of the national situation when he made the old woman in his *Queen Mary* say: "A-burnin', and a-burnin', and a-makin' o' folk madder and madder—but take thou my word for it, the burnin' of the owld Archbishop will burn the Pope out of this 'ere land forever and ever."

It did indeed. The burning of a few apprentices and unknown Londoners made but a slight impression upon the great mass of the English people, who regarded them largely in the light of religious fanatics. When some women were burned, and they saw the fires lighted around gentle and innocent mothers and daughters, the temper of England began to rise. The undertone of a sullen murmur, which might well have caused the leaders of the Church to halt, rose and spread in ominous volume. But when Englishmen saw some of the saintliest and most scholarly of the clergy, and not only that, but some of the holiest and noblest of the Bishops, consumed to ashes at the stake, a reactionary hatred of the Pope and Rome and all that the Pope and Rome meant, took possession of England. The Protestantism which has been the strength of England's Church, and the very foundation stone of England's national policy in some of the most critical reigns, may be said to date from that hour. It was the ferocity born of fanaticism and nurtured by superstition, as Bishop Boyd Carpenter puts it, that drove Englishmen from Rome, and planted deep in our nation its hostility to Popery. It is to the fidelity and courage of the martyrs that our Church owes its purity and strength. As Bishop Ryle said: "To their faithfulness we owe the existence of the Reformed Church of England. Her foundations were cemented with their blood."

Points for Discussion

The impossibility of forcing religion upon a people like the English by persecution, even when the masses favour it.

The reign of Mary as proving the exact status of England before the Reformation, Roman in unity, and Roman Catholic in doctrine.

The over-ruling power of Providence. It seemed as if the work of the reformers was undone and the Prayer Book buried for ever. Yet out of it and because of it, the reformation cause was established.

CHAPTER XVII

THE PRAYER BOOK OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH—THE THIRD PRAYER BOOK

IT is hard to realize nowadays what a day of glad tidings the death of Queen Mary was for England's people. The tyranny of Rome was over at last. The words of Elizabeth, as she fell on her knees in Hatfield, when she heard the news, were stamped on every gold coin of the realm in her reign, and expressed the predominant sentiment of myriads of her people: "It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes."

What was the position of the State and the Church in 1559*?*

In spite of the exuberant joy of England, the position, politically and religiously, at the commencement of Elizabeth's reign, was very critical. From the north, Scotland threatened. For Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, was the wife of the Crown Prince of France, the Dauphin as they called him then, and they actually called themselves King of England and Queen of Scotland. To the South, France, only twenty miles or so away, threatened with tremendous power; and Calais, the last vestige of England's French possessions, was gone. To the west, Ireland was in revolt, a very hotbed of what we could call a priest-ruled, Sinn-Fein rebel spot. In England itself, the situation was appalling. Elizabeth had really no army; no navy; no money; and England was practically a Papist country. All the Bishops, nearly all

the clergy, and two-thirds of the people were Romanist. Yet again we say: "It was the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." The battle of the Reformation was fought over again, and won. The Church entered her reign as the Church of Rome; Papal, Papist, Romanist. It emerged from it, the Church of England; Scriptural, Reformed, Protestant. During her reign, Spain, proud Spain, with Breviary in the one hand and Missal in the other, went down, down, down, never to rise again as a great world power. England, with the Bible in the one hand and the Prayer Book in the other, went up, up, up, to ever-increasing bounds of Empire.

While Elizabeth was not quite the enlightened evangelical Anglican that her brother was, she took a fairly decided stand at the beginning, and bravely flung out the banner of Reformation principles. Her last message to Mary was that the Word of God was to be the only foundation and rule of her reign; and the contrast of the two reigns was visibly set forth in a little incident that occurred in Elizabeth's State progress in London. A copy of the Bible was presented to her, and she laid the Holy Book upon her breast. It was a significant act. Mary's first act was to put away the Bible. Elizabeth's first act was to honour it.

The most important feature of Elizabeth's reign, for the student of the Prayer Book, is what has been commonly called the Reformation Settlement. That famous phrase simply means the establishment of the Church of England, nationally and legally, upon the basis of the reformed and Scriptural teaching of the Church as set forth in the Prayer Book and Articles of 1552. As a matter of fact, all the problems of her reign, national and international, political as well as religious, sprang from and turned on the attitude of Queen Elizabeth to the Church of England and to the Church of Rome, for during her reign the Church of England was *re*-formed again. The reformation of Edward VI was *re*-established once

more. England was *re*-Protestantized, and Rome was fought wherever it reared its head, and every time that it asserted its claims. Within a year of her coming to the throne, the Prayer Book of the Church of England was finally established as the Prayer Book of England's Church and nation. Not that it was easily done. At first, the chaos and complexity of the politico-ecclesiastical situation was appalling beyond words. Protestantism was confined to the lower orders among the people in the cities and towns. The political and ecclesiastical leaders were all inclined, from policy, to compromise with the Pope and the Church of Rome. The Queen was far from being a Protestant in our modern sense of the word. It was the imperiousness of her Tudor blood, the doggedness of her English nationalism, the strong desire to be a people's sovereign, that led her, little by little, sometimes willingly, sometimes reluctantly, to repudiate the Pope, to break from Rome, and to side with the Anglican reformers.

What were the successive steps that led to the restoration of the Prayer Book and the discarding of the Roman Services?

At first very little indeed was done. All was confusion. But soon the battle lines were formed between ignorance and intelligence; and, though the hopes of the Protestants at times seemed dim, in ways that seemed miraculous, the way was opened for the re-establishment of the Prayer Book once more. Little by little, changes were made that, like straws, indicated the trend of the current of the day. Her first act was to prevent action. Proclamations were issued prohibiting any change in the Church Service or any preaching. The Mass was still to be used in the Royal Chapel, though, as in the beginning of the Reformation, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Gospel, Epistle and Ten Commandments were in English. The Litany also was to be said in English. Curi-

ously enough, too, the first liturgical prohibition of Edward VI (1548) was the first liturgical prohibition of Elizabeth (1559), that the Host should not be elevated. That was in itself a very striking thing.

As far, however, as a general reformation went, things moved with tantalizing slowness. England did not at once come out on the side of the Reformation as a Protestant nation. The Prayer Book was not at once restored. About the end of 1558, however, that is, in December, 1558, a kind of consultative committee met to discuss the possibilities of restoring the Prayer Book of Edward VI. The leaning of this Committee was undoubtedly strongly towards the Second Prayer Book. It has been asserted that the Queen threw the whole of her imperious influence upon the side of the First Prayer Book, straight and simple, and that the all-powerful Cecil also, from motives of pure policy, preferred that as a compromise with Rome. But there is really no valid evidence to show that Elizabeth or any one else desired the First Prayer Book. The Romanists wanted the Missal, and the extreme Puritans a Swiss kind of service. But " not a solitary voice was raised for the Prayer Book of 1549 " (Upton, p. 236). When we remember that of this Elizabethan Prayer Book Revision Committee, or, as it should be more properly styled, the Prayer Book Restoration Committee, at least four were men of decidedly Protestant and reformed convictions, men like Cox and Whitehead, Grindal and Pilkington, and that the other three, while perhaps not as strongly evangelical, were yet decidedly of the reform party, it is evident that the Book that they would recommend and champion would undoubtedly be the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. A little side-light is thrown upon the matter, too, from a document that survives and is supposed to be the answer of Dr. Guest (or Geste), afterwards the Bishop of Rochester, who was called in by Cecil to take the place of Parker who was ill at the time. It looks as if Cecil had put in some test questions, such,

for instance, as this: Could they have provision made for processions and copes and non-communicating attendance, and prayers for the dead, and the elements to be placed in the mouth? The answer was remarkably clear: The Committee were of the opinion that ceremonies like images and processions, that had been abolished in the reign of Edward VI, should not be re-introduced; that crosses should not again be set up in the Churches; that there should be no prayers for the dead, as it was not in the Apostolic Church; that the bread should be placed in the hands, not in the mouths, of the communicants; that non-Communicants should leave the Church before the administration of the Sacrament; that the surplice was sufficient for all the services and for the Holy Communion.

On April 28th, "The Act of Uniformity, 1559," passed the House of Lords and received the royal assent a few days later. It is the Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church and Administration of the Sacraments, primo Elizabethæ, which to-day forms part of the English Prayer Book, is numbered I in the Table of Contents, and is to be found on p. 741 in the official copies and desk copies of the Canadian Church Prayer Book. It restored and re-established the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI as the Prayer Book of the Church of England. It is marvellous to think that such a thing was possible in the year 1559! To think that at such a time, with such men in power, such a Book as the Second Prayer Book could have passed, seems marvellous in our eyes. In the House of Lords a solid phalanx of Roman Bishops opposed it to a man, and it passed in the House of Lords by a bare majority of three. Three only! But it passed. The vast majority of the clergy, too, were doubtless Romanist at heart. But for Queen Mary's persecutions, and but for the imperious hand of Elizabeth and the State, it would never have been possible.

It is of the first importance at this point for the student

of Prayer Book History to remember with regard to the question: Which Book did Elizabeth actually establish, the First or Second Prayer Book? that the Book they actually established, or rather re-established, was *the Second Prayer Book* of Edward VI. And in establishing it, Elizabeth really established the doctrine and worship of the Church of England upon its Scriptural and spiritual basis, and the machinery by which she established it was that of the State, not that of the Church. For, as Upton says, "The Elizabethan Act of Uniformity re-established our doctrinal reformation, just as the Supremacy Act restored our freedom from the political interference of the priest, and from the domestic tyranny of the clergy." (p. 242).

But when the Book was authorized, that is, when the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI was re-established, it was authorized with three changes and three only. The three changes were:

1. The Table of Lessons corrected, providing First Lessons for Sunday morning and evening and Second Lessons also for some, in addition to the Chapters for the ordinary days.
2. The Litany was altered. The words, "From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities" were excised. The Prayers for the Queen, Clergy and People were placed at the end of the Litany.
3. The Words in the Administration of the Sacrament in the Communion Service were combined as now, that is, the words of 1549 and 1552 were conjoined.

It is distinctly asserted in the third section of Elizabeth's Specifying Act that these were the only changes and there were to be "none other, or otherwise."

But, unfortunately, these were NOT the only changes when the Book was printed. It is a curious fact that there was no Book Annexed in 1559. There were quite a number of copies of the 1552 Prayer Book available, but none appears to have been annexed to Elizabeth's

Act of Uniformity. And when the Book came out, the Churchmen of England must have been astonished to find, though the Act distinctly said there were to be only these three changes, and the three were really considered only as one, that three OTHER changes had been printed besides those authorized. That is:

1. Morning Prayer was to be said in the accustomed place or chancel;
2. A provision with regard to the Ornaments Rubric, and
3. The last Post-Communion Rubric was omitted.

Why and how these changes were made will probably never be definitely known. It is conjectured that the Queen herself made them, and that she made them because she thought, as the Supreme Head of the Church, she had the right to make them. But the second change, that with regard to what is known as the Ornaments Rubric, has been the cause of no little trouble in our Church from that day to this. (See Tomlinson, *Prayer Book Articles and Homilies*, pp. 34-36.)

And now, little by little, the strange and difficult work of re-forming the Church proceeded. Step by step the work went on, a hand that was manifestly the hand of Providence clearing the way. Nearly a dozen of the Roman Bishops died of the plague. About fifteen others were deprived because they would not acknowledge the Queen's supremacy and take the oath which acknowledged their repudiation of the supremacy of the Pope. So a new episcopate, Anglican in thought and resolve, Protestant in heart and action, led the Church forward in the new era of her regenerated life. It was indeed a most significant fact that the Church of England in the reign of Elizabeth started out with a practically reformed episcopate, and that Elizabeth herself was responsible for the appointment of these Bishops—a point to be borne in mind when it is suggested that she was not in sympathy with the

Reformation. In Henry's reign there were only three or four really Protestant Bishops. In the reign of Edward VI there were practically only five or six, the rest of the episcopate being Romanist. In Mary's reign, of course, there were none. They were all Romanists. But now at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, the Bishops were all unanimously Protestant and reformed. Think of what that meant! The leadership of the Church, a solid unit in the resolve for the Protestantizing and Reformation of the Church. Think of the men who were in the van, and carried the flag. There was Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury; Grindal, Bishop of London; Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury; and last but not least, Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter. These were the outstanding leaders. The famous *Apology* of Bishop Jewel, published with the consent of the Queen, stablished the positive position of the Church of England as against Rome. The still more famous *Book of Martyrs*, by Foxe, read in almost every English home, fortified Churchmen in their horror of Popery. And the *Decades* of Bullinger, the fifty sermons of the great Swiss Reformer, were ordered to be studied by every parish clergyman in England. All these were the means of laying deep the foundations of the Elizabethan Settlement of the Church. Then, from time to time, royal injunctions of a most stern and uncompromising character put an end to all Romish practices and all Romish service books in the Church. By the Injunction of Elizabeth, 1563, the surplice became the universal vestment of all Anglican clergy at all services. The altar, which had been a fixity at the east end of the Church, disappeared. In its place came a movable table to stand, as now ordered by the Fourth Rubric at the beginning of the Communion, either IN THE BODY of the Church or IN the chancel. Another very remarkable innovation, an innovation that has affected the whole life of the English Church from that day to this, was the permission to sing a hymn at the beginning and end of

Morning and Evening Prayer. It was a novelty then, but it struck a very responsive chord in the heart of England's people. It was the birthday of congregational singing in the Church of England. It is said that the practice of hymn-singing in the Church spread like wildfire throughout the Kingdom. Nothing seems to have so crowded the Churches as the practice of the congregations, men, women and boys, all singing together and praising God.

Within a short time the doctrinal position of the Church of England was fully and finally established. The Forty-two Articles, which had been put forth in the reign of Edward VI, in 1553, were, ten years afterwards, reduced to thirty-eight and accepted by the Upper and the Lower Houses of Convocation with apparent unanimity. This was the unequivocal acceptance of the reformation principles of the Church of England by the English Church clergy as a body. It was more than a vote. Each Bishop and clergyman put his hand to it, and by his personal subscription declared that "the Articles of the Church of England DO CONTAIN THE TRUE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND agreeable to God's Word." That was a great day in English Church history. It should never be forgotten, because on that day the Church of England, through her representatives, solemnly accepted and agreed to the doctrinal reformation, as set forth in the Articles to be found in every Anglican Prayer Book to this day. If, at that time, the Church of Rome in her Council assembled, through her Cardinals and Bishops, was sending forth the final form of the Roman creed and the Roman teaching, the English Church, in a very clear and unmistakable concordat was declaring its teaching, and, in many cases, in clear defiance of the Tridentine decree. (See that remarkable chapter by Canon Girdlestone, Chap. IV, pp. 31-54, of *English Church Teaching*, Longmans, Lond.), The doctrine of the Thirty-nine Articles is the very stronghold of England's Church

and nation. The Articles were finally settled and accepted by Convocation in 1571, as the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church, and in the Royal Decree of 1628, which has ever since prefaced them in every Prayer Book, it is declared: That the Articles are to be submitted to in the plain and full meaning thereof, and taken in the literal and grammatical sense.

The latter part of the reign of Elizabeth was marked by the rising of two very definite tides of influence. The first was the growing Protestantism of England as a nation through its increasing horror and hatred of Rome. The Pope, who had excommunicated Elizabeth, stirred up Scotland, France, and Spain to dethrone her. The mighty military forces of the day were hurled against little Protestant England. The tireless machinations of the Jesuits tended to emphasize the reviving power of Rome. But the two events which finally established England as a Protestant nation were the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572, and the invasion of the Spanish Armada in 1588. St. Bartholomew's Day opened England's eyes with horror. The Armada hardened England's heart with hatred. Of course, a great deal has been made by Roman Catholic historians of the execution of Roman Catholics, clerical and lay, during the reign of Elizabeth. Even Anglican writers have been led to compare the burning of priests in Elizabeth's reign with the burning of Protestants in the reign of Mary. It must be remembered, however, that the burnings of the priests were uniformly for treason. The burnings of the Protestants were uniformly for religion. In that distinction you have the essential difference between the two epochs.

The other movement was the rise of Puritanism. During the latter part of Elizabeth's reign the Puritan element waxed stronger and stronger, and it is a significant sign of the temper of the times that the storm centre of ecclesiastical controversy in the reign of Elizabeth was a piece of linen. In Mary's reign it was the Mass.

In Elizabeth's reign it was the surplice. So small a matter kindled so great a fire. The Puritans, at first, were not separatists from the Church. On the whole, they did not even object to the Prayer Book. Nor did they object, in the main, to the Church's teaching. Doctrinally, the Church of England was Puritan. Doctrinally, Archbishop Whitgift, the most vigorous anti-non-Conformist of the day, was a Puritan of the Puritans and a pronounced Calvinist. At the end of the reign of Elizabeth, the bulk of the Church of England clergy were Puritan, that is, Calvinistic, and the party acquired great strength because of the somewhat autocratic attitude assumed by the episcopate.

In 1588 an effort was made to abolish the Book of Common Prayer and substitute a kind of Presbyterian Directory of Public Worship, but it was defeated. And the sad thing was that the two parties, both Protestant, both strong in their hatred of Rome, were divided by matters that were utterly indifferent and non-essential, —the wearing of a surplice, the putting of a ring on the finger in the Marriage Service, the signing of the cross on the infant's head in Baptism. The times were strange. Looking back from these liberal days, it seems easy to advise and rebuke. But the growth of the separatists and the progressive strength of the non-conformists was greatly due to the autocratic rigidity of the Bishops, and their magisterial sternness. Yet in spite of many efforts the Prayer Book remained unchanged to the end of the reign of Elizabeth.

Points for Discussion

The joy of England at Elizabeth's accession as an evidence of the reaction from Papal rule.

The growth of the national hatred of Rome after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the Pope's excommunication of the Queen.

The reason of the antipathy of the non-conformist to such trivial matters as the surplice and the ring in marriage.

Were not the beginning of the Church's troubles the autocracy, and intolerance on the part of the leaders, and the lack of the spirit of accommodation or tolerance on the part of the Puritans?

The steady growth, during Elizabeth's reign, of the people's attachment, as a whole, to the Church and the Prayer Book.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PRAYER BOOK IN THE REIGN OF JAMES I
1603-1625

A TOTALLY new set of conditions was found on the accession of King James I, in 1603. When Elizabeth came to the throne the opposition was all from the Romanists. When James I came to the throne the element of difficulty was the Non-Conformists. Throughout the reign of James there is no mention whatever of the Missals or the Manuals or the Grayles, nor of the albe, the amice, or the chasuble. The Romish service books and the Romish vestments had vanished. The Ornaments question even was not an issue of the day. The burning questions in the Church were altogether questions of ritual and order and worship ; of matters that should be classed among the things indifferent.

James had derived from his Queen-mother, a bitter Romanist, an autocratic strain that boded ill for the future of the Church and nation. A pompous, pedantic personality, and nominally a Scotch-Presbyterian, he brought to the religious discussions of England and England's Church a strong and imperious attitude. Unfortunately, too, the Episcopate was infected with a spirit of prelatic servility. They seem to have drunk of the wine of royal subservience, and to have fallen down and worshipped the god of Absolutism which was set up by the Stuart Dynasty. The fatal mistake throughout the reign of James and his descendants was a dangerous and novel claim of power on the part of the King, the claim

of divine right, and of absolute superiority to law. This was followed by the dangerous and novel claim of prerogative on the part of the Bishops. Episcopacy was conceived to be of divine right. Without it there could be no Church. And so there came the twin theories of the King and the Bishops. Without King, no State; without Bishops, no Church.

The Puritans, who had been waiting long for their day, greeted the enthronement of James with highest hopes. Even before he arrived at his capital the leaders of the Puritan party presented him with a petition, known as The Millenary Petition, which contained the programme of Church Puritanism. They desired that the Prayer Book should be amended in the following particulars:

1. That the cross in Baptism should be removed.
2. That the questions to sponsors should be omitted.
3. That Confirmation should be abolished.
4. That Baptism should not be administered by women.
5. That the surplice should not be compulsory.
6. That the Church Service should be shortened.
7. That there should be examination before Communion.
8. That the words 'priest' and 'absolution' should be corrected.

These and a number of other matters were urged as abuses of the Church that were necessary for redress. Some of the things they desired were afterwards granted, such, for instance, as the abolition of baptism by women and the reading of the Apocryphal Scriptures on Sundays. Some of their suggestions were very sensible and would have been of great value to the Church if they had been adopted; and some were merely the demands of a narrow and impossible Anti-Church prejudice.

What was the Hampton Court Conference?

The so-called Hampton Court Conference was the gathering in Hampton Court Palace of the representatives

of the contending sides; the Puritan Divines, and the Bishops and certain leading doctors on the Church side, for the purpose of settling the controversies of the Church and the Prayer Book in matters of doctrine and ritual. Both parties were invited to Hampton Court Palace, and for three or four days, in January, 1604, the meetings were held. It was one of those unfortunate occasions when two irreconcilable parties met without a thought of compromise. Each party came to the conference with avowed antipathies and preferences. Each was determined to yield nothing. The only thing that would have united the Church in those days was the policy of moderation. But in those days a policy of moderation, comprehension, or toleration, was apparently unknown.

The King himself took the stand of no innovations, and no alterations. The Puritans, instead of asking for liberty for their consciences, practically said that their consciences would not be satisfied unless the others adopted their system. What might be called the High Church party of the day, conscious of power, and knowing that they had the King on their side, treated the Puritan divines as if they were a lot of schoolboys up for punishment. From the very opening, the sides were very clearly defined. There, on the one side, were the great Puritan leaders—Reynolds, the President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; Sparks, another Oxford Professor of Divinity; Chaderton, the Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; Newstubbs, of St. John's, Cambridge. Four, and four only. On the other side were fourteen, some say nineteen,—nine Bishops and Deans, an imposing array of Churchmen. And, on their side, with a bias of which he made no concealment from the start, was the King himself.

The first day of the conference was January 14th, 1604. The King remained in conference for a long time with the Church party alone. He insisted strongly upon three points, all of which were added then, and, curiously enough, are now in the English Church Prayer Book:

1. That an addition should be made to the title of the Absolution, by the words, " Or, Remission of Sins."
2. That more matter should be added to the Catechism, which was then part of the Confirmation Service.
3. That Baptism should be by a lawful minister only.

On the second day, January 16th, the Puritans were allowed to make a statement of their objections. They were very voluminous and in four sections :

1. Regarding doctrine.
2. Regarding the ministry.
3. Regarding Church government.
4. Regarding ritual and the Prayer Book.

Some of their demands were curious and pedantic. Others were sensible and really good, such as their pleading for an educated ministry, and a more sacred observance of the Lord's Day. But some of them were trifling and really irritating, regarding small matters of secondary importance. Looking back from to-day, Churchmen of all kinds would agree that the objections that they made to the Prayer Book were based upon very small matters indeed.

The third conference was held on January 18th. It could hardly be called a conference because the Archbishop and the others simply presented their report and the changes that they suggested, without any chance being given to the other side to comment or reply.

The result of the Hampton Court Conference was that a Prayer Book Revision Committee was appointed with power to amend and add to the Prayer Book. This Revision Committee, a Royal Committee appointed by the King, completed its work in a very short time. And so it came to pass, by Royal Letters Patent, February 9th, 1604, that certain alterations were made in the Prayer Book, and revised, issued, published and enforced by authority, March 6th, 1604.

What were the more important of the changes made in the Prayer Book in 1604, *as the result of the Hampton Court Conference?*

The following were the leading changes inserted in the Prayer Book on the authority of the King's Proclamation in 1604:

1. Infant baptism was now to be performed by a lawful minister only. The authorizing words will be found to-day in the Rubric of the Service for the Ministration of Private Baptism of Children: "First, let the Minister of the Parish (or, in his absence, ANY OTHER LAWFUL MINISTER that can be procured) . . . ." It must be remembered that this was opposed to the Romish practice of Baptism by women, and, in one way, it might be called a decided gain for the so-called Puritan party.

2. The words, "Or remission of sins" was added to the Rubric before the Absolution in Morning Prayer.

   This seems to have been the direct result of the King's insistence. The Bishop of London stood out for the title as it stood, "The Absolution," and justified its use after the General Confession, by quotations from the Lutheran and Calvinistic Confessions and writings. But the King objected to the word 'Absolution' alone, and said it sounded Popish. It was too like "the Pope's pardon." And so it was changed to the wording now in every Prayer Book.

3. The explanation of the Sacraments was added to the Catechism. This has been thought to favour so-called 'Catholic' teaching. But this was not the case. It was a condensation of Nowell's Catechism, which was, to use our modern term, decidedly Protestant.

4. Certain forms of thanksgiving, to correspond with the prayers for rain, peace and plenty, were added. A very decided improvement and in accordance with the teaching of Phil. iv, 6, and Col. iv, 2. Some prayers, also, for the Royal Family, were inserted.

5. Instead of certain lessons from the Apocrypha, those from the Scriptures were appointed.

On the whole, the Prayer Book was decidedly enriched, and it was enriched without retrogression in the Roman direction. The result of the Hampton Court Conference in the reign of James I was that the Prayer Book did not go back. It remained in the strong position of the Reformation Settlement, 1552-1559.

But there is one thing that English Churchmen should ever remember with gratitude. And that is, that out of the confusion and discord of the Hampton Court Conferences, there came one thing that has since been the glory of England's Church. As Hole says in his *History*, what nobody thought of and nobody could dissent from, was agreed on ; a new version of the Holy Bible. It was Dr. Reynolds, the Oxford scholar, the leader of the Puritan party, who suggested a new translation of the Bible. The idea caught the imagination of the King. And, in spite of the opposition of Bishop Bancroft, he declared, in a fit of royal stubbornness, that he would see the matter through. A few months later the King announced that he had appointed fifty-four learned men for the translation of the Bible, and though little is known either of the men who carried out the translation, or their methods in translating, the work they did was carried to a final and successful issue within three years and has since become, as The Authorised Version, a book that has held its place as the supreme and incomparable translation of the Word of God. It was truly an epoch-marking day for England and the Empire when this masterpiece of Bible translation appeared ; and though it has ever since been known as THE AUTHORIZED VERSION, its real authorization has been the authorization of universal appreciation, the favour of scholars and people alike. Bishop Westcott claims that there is no evidence of its ever having been officially authorized by either the Church, the Parliament, or the King. Dr. Eadie, on the

other hand, argues that the Royal Order to make it the national Bible and displace the Bishop's Book was tantamount to authorization.

But for Churchmen, the point of interest will always be that at the last revision in 1661-62, it was finally and officially arranged that the Gospels and Epistles should be printed in the Prayer Book from the Authorized Version of the King James Bible of 1611. And since that time, until the Revised Version was permitted as an alternative, the Lessons heard in every Church of England the world over have been from it.

And so, for three hundred years, the main portions of the Bible heard in the Church of England by untold millions have been heard in the words of the Book that, for three centuries, as Huxley said, " has been woven into the life of that which is best and noblest in English history and has become the *national epic* of Britain." (Muir's *Grand Old Bible,* pp. 77-142.)

Points for Discussion

From the present-day viewpoint, would the Puritans of King James' day be regarded as schismatics, or as earnest Churchmen seriously desiring Church reforms of a common-sense character ?

The entire disappearance of the Mass Vestments as proved by the objection even to the surplice.

The long continued observance of Guy Fawkes' day and the Gunpowder Plot as a sign of the widespread horror of Roman domination in England.

The Preface to the Most High and Mighty Prince James by the translators of the 1612 version, as a proof of the almost incredible sycophancy and blandiloquent flattery of the ecclesiastics of that day.

CHAPTER XIX

THE PRAYER BOOK IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES I 1625-1649

THE reign of Charles I was a grave and important epoch in the history of the Church of England. The two ever-active forces of English ecclesiastical history were at work. On the one hand, was what would now be called the evangelical or Low Church, anti-sacerdotal party; the men who upheld the principles of the Reformation, simplicity in worship, Scripturalness in doctrine. On the other hand, was the anti-Puritan, the sacerdotal and neo-Catholic party, with many of the characteristics of the present day Anglo-Catholic section of the Church of England. Side by side, and becoming more and more distinct, ran two strong Church currents; the one against anything and everything that seemed to favour or tend to Romish ceremonial and Romish doctrine; and the counter-current, with its tendency to ornate ritual and what might be called Catholic or semi-Romish doctrine.

Both parties inherited from the past a somewhat extravagant and uncompromising point of view. The Church Party, as it was called, was holding with increasing firmness that Episcopacy was necessary to the being of the Church. The Puritan Party were drifting more and more to the extreme position that Episcopacy was an anti-Christian institution, and the Prayer Book anti-Scriptural.

The reader must, of course, remember that at that time English hatred of Rome was accentuated by England's

fear of the victorious aggressiveness of Rome. The extraordinary activity of the Jesuits, and the energetic prosecution of their propaganda, coinciding with the almost unbroken series of Roman Catholic triumphs on the Continent through Richelieu and Wallenstein, shook the heart of England with commingled feelings of regret and fear. And with reason. For while Rome triumphed abroad, on the Continent, Rome was beginning to triumph once more at home, in England. Henrietta, the Queen, a daughter of the great Henry IV of France, was a perfervid Roman Catholic. The English Court was becoming crowded with mass priests and confessors, most of them aliens, an irritation to every true British heart. "That marriage," says Green, "was the most fatal of all King Charles' blunders. Her despotic temper nerved Charles I to his fatal struggle against English liberty. Her bigotry undermined the Protestantism of her sons, Charles II and James II." (Green's *History of the English People*, VII, p. 57.)

Added to this, a new school had arisen in the Church of England. The so-called Church Party took stronger and stronger ground along lines that were obnoxious to the mind of Protestant-Church England. Up to the time of Charles I, practically all the Bishops and clergy and laity agreed that the Thirty-nine Articles were the true exposition of the views of the Church of England. They were accepted by all parties in their plain and full meaning, and were taken in the literal and grammatical sense. But with the advent of Charles came the opportunity of the new school, what is now often called the 'Catholic' Party, and a new kind of teaching began. The Calvinistic teaching of the Articles was slowly receding, and a new phase of interpretation, known as the Arminian teaching, arose. It was a somewhat nebulous scheme of doctrine, denying the necessity of personal conversion, rejecting the doctrine of assurance, and teaching the doctrine of exclusive sacramental grace by the priesthood of the Church. (Goode, *Baptism*, pp. 124, 129, 148, 340,

387.) But the most serious aspect of the Church situation was that the so-called Arminian doctrine was accompanied by three streams of tendency of far-reaching consequence.

What were these accompaniments or consequences of the new doctrinal movement in the reign of Charles I?

They were three. First, a new emphasis was put upon the Service of the Holy Communion. It was a change of emphasis that seemed to re-introduce in the Prayer Book and Service a teaching discarded in the Church of England since the days of the First Prayer Book. The leaders of the new movement boldly taught that the Eucharist was both a sacrament AND A SACRIFICE, and that the unbloody sacrifice upon the altar was the repetition of the oblation of Christ on Calvary. Bishop Andrewes declared that the sacrifice of the Eucharist was a representation of Christ and a proper material sacrifice, and that, therefore, the Holy Table ought fitly to be called an Altar. It was in fact the sacrificial teaching of the Anglo-Catholic in the Church of England to-day.

Second. The introduction of semi-Romish ritual. The average layman of the Church takes his ideals of doctrine from the visible forms and ritual, and it was the introduction of forms and things that made the Communion Service of the Church of England look more and more like the Mass of the Church of Rome that aroused the suspicions of the laity of England. For the semi-Romish eucharistic teaching of the new school was accompanied with outward and visible signs that more and more alienated the great masses of the people. The altar was decked with splendid coverings. A cross or a crucifix was placed upon it. The Wafer was used instead of bread such as is usual to be eaten. Auricular confession was urged as an antecedent to Communion, as in the Church of Rome. Sacramental absolution was given by

the priest. In fact, it was the rise of ritualism, coupled with the rise of so-called Catholic teaching, that was the deepest cause of the Church troubles of the reign of Charles.

For, however Churchmen may differ with regard to the character and career of Archbishop Laud, no one can deny that his ritualism in the Catholic movement of the reign of Charles I was the primary cause of his downfall. He seems to have been obsessed with the idea of the necessity of ritual. He was the first Bishop of our Church since the Reformation to substitute personal caprice for Prayer Book Rubric. The Church law expressly declared that "the Communion Table shall stand in the body of the Church or IN the chancel." Laud insisted upon treating it, not as a movable table, as the Church orders, but, in plain defiance of the Church's teaching and rule, as a fixed altar. And he insisted upon its standing not in the body of the Church or in the chancel, but as an altar at the east end of the chancel. The Rubrics of the Prayer Book said nothing about reverence to the altar. Laud insisted upon it. And Churchmen saw that these things, small in themselves, were things indicative of great meanings and intentions. A movable table, for instance, was the natural accompaniment of the Lord's Supper. But an Altar to which bowings were made and genuflections enjoined, unquestionably showed forth an altar-throne with its doctrine of sacerdotal sacrifice. As a matter of fact, the laity of the Church of England were being gradually alienated from the Prayer Book and from the Church, and few things hastened to bring down the Episcopate and the Prayer Book more than the imperative obligations upon the clergy to move the Communion Table to the east end of the chancel, to set up upon it the image of the Cross, and to turn the Table, upon which the Lord's Supper was administered, into an Altar for the celebration of the Eucharist.

Third. But the third tendency was the changed

attitude of the Church and the English Bishops and Church leaders with regard to non-Episcopal ministers. One of the characteristic features of the Reformation was the recognition of the essential unity of the Church of England with the Reformed Churches of the Continent. The most cordial relations existed between the Church of England and the Continental Churches. But now an ominous change was manifest. The non-Episcopal bodies of Germany and Switzerland were no longer looked upon as fellow churchmen. The doctrine of Apostolic succession, which was strenuously insisted upon by the new party, taught that they had forfeited their claim to be considered true parts of the Church. Englishmen were amazed to see Roman Catholics and Romanizers accepted and honoured, while Protestants of the Lutheran or Reformed Churches were scorned and rejected.

In 1634-36, a Prayer Book for Scotland was drawn up which contained many of the elements of the First Prayer Book and the reactionary features of ritualism. It was ratified by Charles and introduced into Scotland in 1637. On the 23rd of July, the Prayer Book was used for the first time in St. Giles' Church, only to be repudiated with an outcry that was fierce and final. The tidal wave of Scotch reaction against Episcopacy dates from that day. Scotland was lost to the Church of England by the utterly impolitic endeavour to force upon an unwilling people a liturgy that contained many semi-Romish features.

And then a new word was coined in Anglican history. It was the ominous word ' Novations ' or ' Innovations.' The Parliament of England, at that time strongly Protestant, regarded all attempts to alter the Church Service without their authority as illegal innovations. It is curious to notice the things that, in those days, were regarded as such. The leading ones were :

1. The turning of the Table altar-wise. This seems to show that it was not an uncommon thing for the Com-

munion Table to stand long-wise in the chancel, that is, with the ends to the west and east, or to be placed as an oblong or square table in the body of the Church, when the Communion was celebrated.

2. Bowing to the altar. Setting candlesticks on the altar. Placing crucifixes and images on the altar cloth.

3. Turning to the east for the Creed. This was evidently a novelty in the Church of England in the days of Charles. There is no rubrical or legal authority for it now.

4. Compelling communicants to go to the rails to receive (instead of their receiving in the Chancel or Church seats), chanting the Te Deum, standing at the hymns, and the Gloria Patri. These, though universal nowadays, were regarded as serious novelties then.

That there should be serious Parliamentary objection to some of these practices, only shows how deep must have been the suspicion of the laity against any change whatsoever in the customary procedure of the service.

In 1641, there was an attempted revision, or at least a tentative series of considerations, of the Prayer Book, by a Committee appointed by the House of Lords. Many of their proposals were excellent and a few of them are now in the Prayer Book as the result of the 1661-62 revision. But it was too late. In 1642, Episcopacy was formally abolished in England. In 1642-3, the Prayer Book was abolished by order of Parliament and from 1645 until 1662—for seventeen years—in England, it was a crime to have a Prayer Book. It seems incredible almost that to use the Church of England Prayer Book, privately or publicly, was an act punishable by fine or imprisonment.

The unhappy reign of Charles I, from the view-point of the Churchman, shows how a whole kingdom could be lost to the Church through the unwisdom and infatuation of its leaders. There can be no doubt that the Bishops of the Church of England were strangely ignorant of the mind of the Churchmen of England. The attitude of the

laity was almost a revelation of mystery to the Episcopate, for the simple reason that so many of the Bishops and so many of the clergy were absolutely out of touch with the people.

Probably the root evil of all the Church trouble of the reign of Charles I, certainly as far as doctrine was concerned, was the error of introducing a new court of appeal in doctrine. In the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth, the final court of appeal, for the laity and clergy alike, was the Bible. The Bible and the Bible only was the test of all Church and Prayer Book teaching. It was universally accepted, never doubted. The sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for salvation, the belief that Holy Scripture contained all things necessary to salvation, was the rock on which all stood. (Article VI.) But in the reign of Charles, there was a change. The Fathers and Councils and tradition began to be the authorizing sanction for every new teaching. And, added to that, and more than that, the elements of ritual that seemed to the laity to be Romish, or at least semi-Romish, and were introduced to illustrate this so-called Catholic teaching, were insisted upon without any liturgical or canonical authority, save that of the unconstitutional and illegal Canons of 1640. Even now one hears it sometimes urged that the Canons of 1640, which ordered that the Communion Table should stand as a fixed altar against the east wall of the chancel, and that Church-people should bow to it as they entered the Church, are of validity for Churchmen now. It is quite a mistaken idea. By English law, Convocation expires with Parliament and, therefore, the Convocation that passed the Canons of 1640, from the English law standpoint, are not valid, for Charles I dissolved the Parliament on the 5th of May, 1640. But in spite of that the King and Archbishop Laud determined to continue Convocation after Parliament was dissolved, and it was convened by a Writ of the King, authorizing Convocation to sit after Parliament was dismissed. It was at this and

by this illegally convened Convocation that these Canons were passed to cover, by *ex post facto* laws, all their ritual illegalities. It is also held by constitutional lawyers that Canons of Convocation are not binding on the laity without Parliamentary sanction.

But, after all, the secret of the abolition of Episcopacy and the destruction of the Prayer Book in the reign of Charles I, was the ever-widening chasm between a body of Bishops and clergy who alienated the laity, and a body of Church-people who detested, with ever-increasing suspicion, their spiritual leaders. The Anglican Bishops were not deserted because of their piety, their earnestness, and their fidelity to the Gospel. They were not opposed because of their staunchness as Churchmen in defending the principles of the Church of England and the Thirty-nine Articles. They were departed from because of their absolutism. The Church laity of England revolted from the Bishops of the Laudian party because of their insistence on the trifles of ritualism, and on account of their teaching of doctrines that were not found in the Thirty-nine Articles. The people of the Church of England were loyal to the Prayer Book as it stood. And the great leaders were also. But they would not accept a Prayer Book and a Church Service that was defiled by Romanizing innovations. A kingdom was lost to Episcopacy by the unwisdom of the hierarchy, and the simple, Scriptural and spiritual service of the Church of England was lost for years because England's laity dreaded the re-Romanizing of the Church. It only shows the perils of suspicion, and the danger of alienating England's people from England's Church by reason of false teaching and illegal ritual.

Points for Discussion

How far was the Roman Catholic Queen responsible for the Romanizing of the Church of England in the reign of Charles I? Her influence over Charles and the Court Party.

Why is it that absolutism in an ecclesiastic always tends to irritate and alienate the Protestant laity, while it is so easily accepted by the Romanist?

The points of harmony between the Catholic Laudian divines and the Non-Jurors of 1688, and the Tractarian Party, 1833-45.

Investigate Boyd Carpenter's statement that "Episcopacy armed with coercive powers drove half England from the Church," and Hole's, "They were emphatically Romanizing times."

CHAPTER XX

THE PRAYER BOOK IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II
THE FINAL REVISION

AS far as the Church of England is concerned, our Prayer Book reached its final stage in the reign of Charles II. What it was made then, it has been substantially for 260 years, and, with a few alterations and additions, it is the Prayer Book of to-day. The famous Book Annexed, that is, the Prayer Book that was annexed to the Act of Uniformity of 1662, has been, from that day to this, the standard of the Prayer Book for the Church of England. Even the Canadian Church, or, as it is legally termed, the Church of England in Canada, which has lately revised its Prayer Book, as we shall presently see (Chapter xxiv), has not substantially departed from the Prayer Book as it emerged from the reign of Charles II.

As we think of that reign we must again express wonderment at the miracle of such a Prayer Book as the revision of 1661-62 proceeding from such a crisis in the Church's history. The fourth and last Prayer Book Revision Committee assembled in London in 1661, and in 1662 the Prayer Book, as finally revised, was subscribed to by every member of Convocation and annexed and joined, by tape or seals, to the Act of Uniformity of 1662, the fourth and most memorable of them all. It became the authorized Prayer Book of the Church of England, and the only authorized Book of Common Prayer.

To facilitate memory, it may be useful to summarize in a few lines the stages through which the Prayer Book passed up to that time:

1. The First Prayer Book Committee of 1544-48—For compilation. It produced, in succession, the Litany of 1544, The Order of Communion, 1548, and The First Prayer Book, 1549.
2. The Second Prayer Book Committee, which produced the Second Prayer Book, 1551-52—the first revision.
3. The Third Prayer Book Committee, which produced the second Prayer Book of Edward VI, the Elizabethan Prayer Book of 1559—the second revision.
4. The Fourth Prayer Book Committee of the Hampton Court Conference, with the Prayer Book of 1603-4—the third revision.
5. The Fifth Prayer Book Committee of Savoy, which preceded the Prayer Book of 1661-62—the fourth and final revision.

Once more in 1660, a crisis faces the Church of England. Again, the party lines are dividing for a combat that seemed to be the fiercest and most relentless in the history of the Church. The nation was weary of Republicanism, and tired of Presbyterianism. It was eager for the restitution of monarchy, and ripe for the restoration of the Prayer Book.

King Charles II himself was not a man of deep religious opinions. He was only anxious for peace. While his personal bias was entirely on the side of a somewhat Catholic Episcopacy, he knew that he owed his throne to the Presbyterians as well as to the Churchmen. His official attitude, therefore, at the outset, was that of compromise and toleration. When the Puritan party presented him with a petition, they stated that there was no essential difference between them and the State Church party. They made it clear that they were satisfied with a liturgy and with Episcopacy. But they desired revision and

reform. The King, on his part, seemed quite willing to have a conference, and the Bishops expressed at the same time their entire concurrence in the idea. At the same time, the King declared that, in the interim, the things that were the storm centres, such as the surplice, kneeling in the Holy Communion, the sign of the Cross in baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus, should be regarded as optional.

At this point, one cannot but contrast the extraordinary change that has passed over the face of England and England's Church in the course of one hundred years. But a century before this, when Elizabeth came to the throne, the nation and the Church were almost entirely Roman. England was practically a Roman Catholic nation. A Roman Catholic sovereign had just passed away. The question of questions was whether the Church of England, as a reformed Church, and the Prayer Book, as the liturgy of Anglicanism, would survive. But now, after a hundred years, the Church of England is absolutely freed from the Church of Rome ; and the only questions that are questions of debate are questions of indifference, with regard to comparatively non-essential matters of ritual and Church procedure.

Things looked fairly bright for a while and, when, on the 25th of March, 1661, the King issued a Royal Warrant for a Prayer Book discussion and revision conference, to be held at the Savoy Palace in London, it seemed as if a tolerable concordat might be arrived at.

What was the preliminary basis of the Savoy Revision Conference, and the suggested lines of procedure ?

In the first place, and it was certainly a fair beginning, the two parties were to be equally represented. That, in itself, was in remarkable contrast to King James' Committee in 1604 at Hampton Court. On the one side, there were to be twelve Bishops, with nine coadjutors.

On the other side, there were to be twelve Presbyterian or Puritan leaders, with nine coadjutors. They were to meet in the Savoy Hospital, on the Strand, where the Bishop of London lodged. They were to revise and correct and amend the Prayer Book, that is, the Prayer Book of 1552, as authorized by the Uniformity Act of Elizabeth, 1559, and revised in the reign of James I, 1604.

The lines along which the Committee was to work were the following:

1. They were to advise upon and review the Book of Common Prayer.
2. They were to compare the Prayer Book with the most ancient liturgies used in the Church in the primitive and purest times.
3. They were to consider seriously the various forms and rubrics, and the objections and exceptions that were brought forward.
4. They were to make such reasonable and necessary alterations, corrections and amendments as should be agreed to be necessary or expedient for the satisfaction of tender consciences, with the proviso that they were to avoid all unnecessary abbreviations.

Everything looked as if, at last, a fair day was to dawn upon the English Church. But such hopes were, alas, short lived. A rapprochement from the very start was impossible. The Church party was in the ascendant. They knew it. A majority of them were of distinctly Laudian views. They were in a defiant, aggressive, and uncompromising mood. The wretched days of the Commonwealth and the many indignities borne by them as Churchmen could not be so easily forgotten. The smart of the sore was still galling. On the other hand, the Puritan element, many of them devout and consecrated scholars, were foolishly narrow and exacting in their demands. Instead of recognizing their chance to gain much by a slight compromise on matters non-essential, they insisted upon demands that they ought to

have known were absolutely out of the question at such a time.

This became manifest even on the first day. At the first meeting, in April, 1661, the Bishops asked them to deliver their exceptions in writing, together with any amendments, in the shape of additional forms or alterations, that they would suggest. With an absolute lack of policy, the Puritan party presented a long list of exceptions to the Prayer Book, over eighty in number and covering a manuscript of three hundred solid pages. It is admitted to-day that many of these objections were excellent in spirit, and some of them were accepted and inserted in the Prayer Book revision of 1662. Some of them also have since commended themselves to the solid commonsense of the Anglican mind, and are to be found in the Irish or American or Canadian Prayer Books to-day. But at that time, with things as they were, they were simply impossible, (*New History of the Prayer Book*, Procter and Frere, pp. 173-192) and many of them were so revolutionary, so unwisely worded, so trivial almost that they served only to irritate and antagonize the Church party. And when Baxter, in about a fortnight, produced an entirely new Liturgy called " The Reformation of the Liturgy," to be adopted as well as the Book of Common Prayer, and used at the discretion of the minister, its effect was only to increase the impatience and resentment. The Puritan party must have known that to ask that there should be nothing doubtful or questioned in the Prayer Book, that Lent and Saints' Days should be abolished, that any part of the liturgy might be omitted at will, were impossible demands, on the very face of them. No wonder that the Bishops answered defiantly, and that the famous Savoy Conference ended, on the 24th of July, 1661, after a final and bitter debate, in nothing but accentuated asperity and division. As Bishop Burnet said, " the conference broke up with complaints and accusations, as well as a large increase of bitterness on

both sides." In those days, as has been said before, the idea of toleration or attempt at sympathetic understanding seems to have been unknown. Both parties were irreconcilably intolerant. The Episcopal party had no idea of conciliation. The Puritan party had no idea of compromise, no matter how reasonable or conciliatory the other party might have been. And so, of course, nothing was done.

But now comes the remarkable thing. Though the bias of the Bishops was manifestly Laudian, though they were in the majority and almost absolute in power, the Prayer Book passed out of this crisis not less Protestant, but, as Blakeney asserted, more Protestant than before. Or, as Upton put it: "None of the six hundred changes altered the doctrinal standpoint of the Liturgy, and the Prayer Book of to-day remains in all essentials the Prayer Book of 1552. (See his Third Section, Chapter xii, on the last revision of the Prayer Book, entitled, "Some Protestant Gains in 1661-62.) At first sight, it seems as if this were almost impossible. But there can be no doubt that Blakeney's and Upton's assertions are confirmed by these two most significant facts which deserve attentive consideration:

The first fact is that some of the most cherished desires of the Bishops and the Church party were not only deliberately rejected, but changes that they resolutely opposed were inserted in the Prayer Book. For instance. They resolved to put in the Prayer Book Rubrics or phrases authorizing the priests and clerks to kneel in the midst of the choir in the Litany; providing that the Table should always stand at the upper end of the chancel, that is, as a fixture, and not as in the fourth Ante-Communion Rubric of the Prayer Book; that the use of wafer bread should not be forbidden at the Holy Communion; that the words 'offer up' should be inserted in the Communion Rubric in relation to the elements; that the Communion of the sick should be permitted with no

other communicants, instead of requiring three, or two at the least, as now. But NONE of these provisions were put in the Prayer Book when it was finally revised.

In the next place, and it seems stranger still, many of the proposals of the Puritans which the Bishops would not listen to were accepted, and are now found in the Prayer Book. For instance. That the Doxology be added to the Lord's Prayer. That the Lessons were to be read, not sung (although the Bishops thought that there was no inconvenience thereby). That the first prayer in the Baptismal Service should be added. That a Rubric with regard to the optional receiving of the Communion by the newly-married couple should be added. That the words, ' if he humbly and heartily desire it.' be inserted in the Service for the Visitation of the Sick. These and many other corrections were added, and, most important of all, the final Rubric at the end of the Communion Service was restored, with one or two verbal changes.

How is it possible to account for these changes in the Prayer Book of 1662, *in view of the dominance of the High Church Party of the day?*

It can only be accounted for in one way and that is this: The suggestions and alterations that occupied so much time and labour were not, after all, inserted in the Prayer Book as revised a few months later. Nor did the revised Prayer Book of Charles II proceed from the Savoy Conference. THE SAVOY CONFERENCE MADE NO ADDITION TO OR ALTERATIONS IN THE PRAYER BOOK. They talked, they conferred, they argued, they debated, they defined, they denied, and that is all. As a matter of fact, and this is the secret of the explanation, the Prayer Book was not revised in the Savoy Conference, but by a Committee of Bishops appointed by Convocation in November, 1661. The Bishops were Cosin, Wren, Nicholson, Sanderson, Skinner, Warner, Henchman, and Morley.

Of these, Sanderson, Wren, and Cosin were the chief. This Committee was the last Revision Committee of the Prayer Book. They worked assiduously for some time in Ely House, and their work was most carefully discussed by the Lower House of Convocation, which was at that time fairly Protestant, and suspicious of anything that seemed to savour of Rome. When they had carefully gone over the Bishops' corrections, they made a List of Amendments. At the same time, it was most carefully watched by the laity of the House of Lords and Commons. The two watch-dogs of 1662 were Convocation and Parliament. And it is a fact that needs repeating, in view of its importance as affecting the history of our Church from that day to this, that the bulk of the clergy, and of the two Houses of Parliament, though they had no leanings towards Puritanism, were staunchly anti-Papist, with small sympathy with Laudianism. Another thing that throws great light upon this remarkable matter is brought out in Dimock's *History of the Prayer Book.* He shows that during the few months between the closing of the Savoy Conference and the meetings of the final Prayer Book Committee in November, 1661, the Bishops had been undergoing a softening of heart, and that the animus of the Bishops, as displayed in the Conference, was not the animus which governed them in the Committee. "The somewhat unyielding temper shown in the Conference was certainly overruled in the revision by wiser counsels." In proof of this, he quotes Lord Clarendon's words, that "the Bishops spent the vacation *in making such alterations* in the Book of Common Prayer as they thought would make it more grateful to the dissenting brethren"; and shows that Bishop Kennett specified twenty particulars, all of which he regarded as due to objections or proposals of the Presbyterian divines. (pp. 44-45. Cf. Blakeney on *Prayer Book History,* pp. 153-156). We may fairly conclude, therefore, that two forces were, in God's Providence, working together for

the preservation of our Prayer Book as reformed and purified in 1552 ; the relaxing and gentler temper of the Bishops on the one hand, and, on the other, the vigilant and safeguarding spirit of the clergy and laity resolved to maintain in the Prayer Book the principles of the Reformation.

In April, 1662, the Act of Uniformity which authorized the use of the Prayer Book was passed and, on May 19th, it received the royal assent. Annexed, by a seal, and six or seven strings which attached it to the Act, was the copy of the Prayer Book which has remained ever since the final standard of the Book of Common Prayer. A number of copies were accurately compared with it, and were placed in the Cathedrals and in the Tower. These were known as the Sealed Books. But the final and only authority was the Book Annexed.

What were the leading and really important changes in the Prayer Book of 1662 *?*

The changes made in the Prayer Book of 1662 were many. There were, on the whole, over six hundred. Many of them, however, were of a very small and unimportant character, relating to the spelling of words, and punctuation, and other alterations of so slight a nature as to be accounted almost mere matters of printing. This is a fact that should be emphasized in the consideration of this epoch. To use Lord Selborne's words : " *Very* many of these changes (whatever may have been their origin) were verbal and *trivial.* Many others of greater importance were (in one stage or other of the work of Convocation) rejected."

The main changes were the following :

1. The Preface by Bishop Sanderson of Lincoln. It was a most admirable and reasonable statemen of the platform of the Church of England. It lays down the primary and basic principle that the Prayer Book is Scriptural (cf. Articles 6, 8, 20, 21, 34), and three

secondary principles: (1) that forms and ceremonies are among the things indifferent and alterable; (2) that the Prayer Book may, therefore, be revised and altered as the changing times demand; (3) that all revision should be along the lines of edification and simplification for the procuring of peace and unity and reverence and devotion in divine worship.

2. The insertion of the opening part in Evening Prayer. Up to that time the Sentences, Exhortation, General Confession and Absolution were only to be found in Morning Prayer. This was, of course, a real gain.

3. The Prayers for the King and Royal Family and Clergy were taken from the Litany and inserted at the end of Morning and Evening Prayer. This, too, was a valuable change, as it made the Service a unit.

4. The Prayers for Ember Weeks, Parliament, All sorts and conditions of men, the General Thanksgiving, and various new Collects, such as Third Sunday in Advent, Sixth Sunday after Epiphany, Easter Even, St. Stephen's Day, were inserted for the first time in the Prayer Book. And surely Churchmen of every class and type of thinking will thank God for the loftiness and earnestness of nearly all these prayers. Surely there is nothing nobler in the compass of our own or any other Prayer Book than the prayer for all Conditions of Men and the General Thanksgiving.

5. All the Scripture portions, except the Psalms and certain sentences in the Holy Communion, were to be taken from the authorized version, 1611.

6. In the Holy Communion, the Prayer of Thanksgiving for the departed was added at the end of the Prayer for the Church Militant. This was not a prayer for the dead, nor can it be taken as a proof that the Church of England even sanctions prayers for the departed. Two things were most carefully chosen to avoid this: The words in the Title: "Christ's Church Militant *here in earth*"; and instead of the words of the First Prayer Book, "we and they," in 1662, and now, it is "we with them."

7. The Rubrics for the Presentation of Alms and the placing of the Bread and Wine were inserted. This is remarkable. The Rubrics provide that the Alms basin with the money is to be HUMBLY PRESENTED and placed upon the Holy Table. The Bread and Wine are only TO BE PLACED. The Bishops were keen to have the words of the Scotch Liturgy of 1637, "*offer up* and place" the bread and wine; and the Rubric as proposed in Bishop Sancroft's book had the words "offer up." The omission, therefore, was significant. It was intentional, and had a design, and that design was to delete a word that would convey the idea of sacrificial offering, and therefore give offence.
8. The Rubric before the Consecration Prayer. This did not, as Frere claims, authorize the Eastward position. In fact, a deeper scholarship shows that it was carefully drawn up to prevent that position except during the time required for the arrangement of the bread and wine. (See Harrison's very scholarly work, *Before the Table.*)
9. The Rubric for additional Consecration.
10. The Rubric at the end of the Marriage Service was changed from "must[1] receive" to "It is convenient that the newly married persons should receive the Holy Communion." This was probably a change along the line of Church liberty, making it optional instead of compulsory as in 1549.
11. The Rubric in the Burial Service with regard to persons unbaptized.
12. The Catechism was separated from the Confirmation Service. And the former first Rubric of Confirmation was made the Preface to the Confirmation Service as we now have it. This was a real gain.
13. The words, "if he humbly and heartily desire it" were added to the Rubric before the Absolution in the Visitation of the Sick. There can be no doubt that the insertion of these words changed the character of the Absolution, by teaching that it was not of indispensable necessity as Rome teaches.

[1] "Must" then meant "should."

14. The last sentence in the first paragraph of the Ordination Service had added to it the words, "or hath had formerly Episcopal Consecration or Ordination." In the Litany the words "Bishops, priests and deacons" were inserted, instead of "Bishops, pastors and ministers." In the Ordinal the words, "for the office and work of a priest" were added. With regard to the last eight words inserted in the Preface to the Ordinal, it must be remembered that they have reference *only* to the ministry of the Church of England. This was the verdict of Bishop Fleetwood in his judgment of the Church of England (ii, 24): "They shall not exercise the functions of either priest or deacon, but this is *in the Church of England*." The insertion of the words in the Preface to the Ordinal, 1662, about no one being accounted a 'lawful' Bishop or priest without Episcopal Consecration or Ordination, stopped the admission of non-episcopally ordained ministers from exercising the functions of Presbyters in the Church of England, as had been the case, according to Bishop Cosin and Bishop Fleetwood, but they have nothing whatever to do with the doctrine.

15. And, last of all, and, in some ways, most important, the last Post-Communion Rubric, known popularly as the Black Rubric, was restored as the official declaration of the doctrine of the Church of England with regard to the Lord's Supper.

Bishop Burnet tells us that its restoration was mainly due to the influence and insistence of one man, Bishop Gauden, who was throughout the whole of this most critical epoch "the most constant helper" of the supporters of the principles of the Reformation. He brought up and carried through the restoration of the Post-Communion Rubric in the face of powerful opposition. The earnest Bishop, though perhaps he did not realize it at the time, rendered by that act an incalculable service to the Church, and the name of Bishop Gauden should be cherished with gratitude by all true sons of the Church of England. (Dimock, *Hist. of P. B.*, p. 44). For, as long as that Rubric stands, the

spiritual doctrine of the Lord's Supper remains as the bulwark and standard of the Church of England, that "no adoration is intended, or ought to be done, either unto the Sacramental Bread or Wine there bodily received, or unto any Corporal Presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood. For the Sacramental Bread and Wine remain in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored; (for that were Idolatry, to be abhorred of all faithful Christians); and the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven, and not here; it being against the truth of Christ's natural Body to be at one time in more places than one." It has been widely asserted that the change of words in the Prayer Book of 1552, "any REAL AND ESSENTIAL presence there" to "any CORPORAL Presence" in 1662, brought back the teaching of the Real Presence in the Anglo-Catholic meaning of the Prayer Book of 1549, if not of the neo-Catholic teaching of the Church of Rome. But this is not the case. It made adoration of ANY Presence IN the elements contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England. It put the strong and unquestionable word 'corporal' in place of the scholastic and medieval terms 'real and essential,' but it removed from the Rubric the phrase, "real Presence" which was and is claimed by those who hold the doctrine of the 25th and 28th Articles, in the proper sense of the words. (See *Tutorial Prayer Book*, pp. 273-75; Dimock's *History of the P. B.*, pp. 48-52; and his *Doctrine of the English Church*, pp. 464-75.)

In fact, this great Rubric only summarizes the doctrine of Hooker (*Ecc. Pol.*, v, p. 67), "The Real Presence of Christ's most blessed Body and Blood is not to be sought for IN the sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament." It teaches succinctly and clearly the great negative principles of the Church of England in regard to the Service of the Holy Communion: no transubstantiation; no consubstantiation; no adoration.

The result of this last and most momentous revision of

the Prayer Book was that, on the whole, the Prayer Book was enriched, amplified, and adapted. But it was enriched and amplified without any reversion, either in ceremonial or doctrine, to the standard of a more degenerate era in the history of the Church. It emerged from that final struggle as through a very Charybdis and Scylla of danger, enriched but not degraded, amplified but not deformed.[1]

When we consider the times, when we consider the prejudices of the party in power, it seems almost incredible that this was the case, and that no really new principle was introduced into our Prayer Book. There can be no doubt that the Scotch Liturgy, with its standard of the Prayer Book of 1549, was before the minds of some of the 1662 revisers, as a model of Church teaching and order. Many of its provisions were pleaded, such as the fixed position of the Communion Table against the eastern wall of the chancel; the north PART of the table for the north side; "the good estate of the Catholic Church of Christ" instead of "the whole estate of Christ's Church militant here in earth," and other phrases which would have tended to assimilate the worship of our Church to that of the Prayer Book of 1549. But, as we have seen, the deliberate judgment of the Church maintained the status quo of the Reformation.

From that day to this, the English Prayer Book has remained practically unchanged. That is, the Prayer Book of 1662 was the re-legalized Prayer Book of 1552, with the alterations and additions made in the three or four subsequent reigns, so that, substantially and in all main essentials, our Prayer Book to-day is the Prayer Book of 1552. The changes made since then have been slight and non-essential. In 1751, the Calendar was changed. In 1859, by a Warrant of the Queen in Council,

[1] The very difficult problem of the Ornaments Rubric is taken up more fully in the Appendix to my work on *The Protestantism of the Prayer Book.*

the three services introduced to commemorate Guy Fawkes' Day, the Beheading of Charles I, and the Restoration of Charles II, were removed from the Prayer Book. In 1859, the Accession Service was adapted. In 1871, the Lectionary was revised. In 1872, the amended Act of Uniformity allowed various changes, such as the shortening of services, etc. But these were, after all, changes of a minor character. The Prayer Book in the main body and essentials of it has continued the same unto this day and still stands firm and unshaken.

As we review it all, we can thank God that through the changing years, and all the tidal waves of action and reaction, national and international, political and doctrinal; in spite of the intolerances and follies of men; in spite of Roman reactions, Romanizing innovators and anti-Episcopal iconoclasts; in spite of puritanical intolerance and ecclesiastical absolutism; the Prayer Book has held its own throughout the centuries in its simple, Scriptural, spiritual grandeur, as the handbook of devotion of the Church of an Empire, and with a doctrinal standard of which no Churchman who loves the Bible and its Lord need ever be ashamed.

Points for Discussion

How far did the scholarship and underlying spiritual aspirations of the Puritan party modify the antipathies and oppositions of the Bishops?

The statement of a Prayer Book historian that the settlement of 1662, while strongly episcopal, was not sacerdotal.

The contrast of Frere's interpretation of the 1662 revision, pp. 196-200, with that of Upton's Protestant Gains in 1662, pp. 335-350.

The assertion that the insertion of the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity as the first item of the Prayer Book of 1662, is proof that the Church of England determined to stand by the Reformation Settlement of 1552, which brought back and established the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI

CHAPTER XXI

THE AMERICAN PRAYER BOOK—1789-1892

THE history of the American Prayer Book is naturally one of keen interest to the people of the Church of England. The American Prayer Book, or the Book of Common Prayer according to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, was really the first *independent* attempt to reproduce or fashion a Prayer Book upon the lines of the English Prayer Book. And yet it must be remembered that the American Prayer Book, while it was in one sense the production of a Church that claimed perfect authority to frame or prepare such a Liturgy as in their particular judgment was best, was nevertheless, when all is said and done, just the Prayer Book of the English Church revised and modified to suit American conditions, with the adoption of the Scotch form of the Consecration Prayer in the Communion Office. Their Book of Common Prayer is, in brief, the English Prayer Book Americanized. It was not a new and original work, for when they went to work in 1789, as we shall see, they regarded the American Church as already in possession of a Liturgy, the Liturgy of the English Church, and though the more conservative Churchmen were for the English Prayer Book entire, with changes only in the State prayers, a majority felt that the time had come for an American Prayer Book. A glance at their early history may help the reader to understand this.

From the reign of Elizabeth to that of George III, the Church of England in the American States used, of course, the Church of England Prayer Book. Who the Church of England people were, and how many of them there were, it would be almost impossible to tell. These Church people were found mostly in the States of Maryland and Virginia and, of course, belonged to the old-fashioned early settlers in the Southern States who maintained very loyally the spirit of obedience to the English Throne and to the Church of England Prayer Book. There were a few Episcopalians in the New England States. But up there it was the Church of England people who were regarded as dissenters, a curious and ironically humorous situation to the mind of an Englishman. In a vague sort of way, these Church people were related to the Mother Church and, of course, the only Episcopal authority that was known was the authority of the Bishop of the Diocese of London, across the ocean.

In those days the crossing of the Atlantic was a perilous matter of months of anxious and uncomfortable travel, and we marvel, as we think of the time and expense and difficulty, to say nothing of the danger, of having to cross the ocean to get ordination. It is said that one-fourth of the men who went over to get Orders lost their lives in the attempt. How the Church of England or the Episcopal Church ever maintained itself and flourished without any Bishop to ordain, or any new members to be admitted by Confirmation, is one of those things that is most difficult to understand. But maintain itself, it did. And at the time of the Revolution in 1776, there were quite a number of clergy and churches scattered throughout the various States. But a very serious crisis came with the Declaration of Independence. The separation of the States from the British Crown produced a serious situation for the members of the Church of England, apart altogether from considerations of loyalty to the throne, and the changing of time-honoured prayers. Even when

they were in connection with England, all their efforts to secure a Bishop for the Church in America had failed, and now the situation was almost impossible. The consequence was that many of the Episcopal clergy stopped ministering altogether. If others tried the impossible task of using the Prayer Book with prayers for the King and the Royal Family, it, of course, left them open to the charge of treason.

The Church, however, did not die and, in 1783, the clergy of Connecticut elected Dr. Seabury to be their Bishop and sent him to England to get consecration. With that persistent narrowness and ignorance that characterized some of the leaders of our Church in the unhappy days of the past, the English prelates refused to consecrate Dr. Seabury as an American Bishop. So, undismayed, faint yet pursuing, he then journeyed north and received his consecration from the Scottish Episcopal Church in November, 1784, the first Bishop of the Anglican Church to occupy a Diocese on earth outside of the British Isles. On the following day a Concordat was drawn up between the new American Bishop and the Scottish Bishops in which he undertook to adopt, in the American Prayer Book, the Communion Office of the Scottish Church. It was a Hobson's choice with Bishop Seabury. They gave him consecration. He could hardly refuse, as a matter of gratitude and commonsense loyalty, to accept their Prayer Book Communion Service.

The consequence was that from that day to this, the American Church has followed the Scottish Communion Office, which is, of course, more in conformity with the First than the Second Prayer Book of the Church of England.

What was the origin, title, and subsequent development of the American Prayer Book?

It came into being thirteen years after the Revolution. It was in the year 1789 that a representative Convention

of the American Church, with delegates from ten States in the Union, most of them from the South, effectuated the union of the American Episcopal Church, gave it its official national title, and brought forth the first official and accepted Prayer Book of the Anglican Church in the United States. Previous to that, on the 28th of September, 1785, a Prayer Book Revision Committee was appointed, and they brought out the first and tentative revision by the American Church, 1786. It was known as the Proposed Prayer Book. It began with a very long and somewhat apologetic Preface, and contained many of the admirable changes now found in the Scottish, American, and Canadian Prayer Books. But it contained also many drastic innovations, such, for instance, as the omission of the Nicene Creed, and the adoption of a new version of the Thirty-nine Articles, reducing them from thirty-nine to twenty. On the whole, the Proposed Book met with anything but a cordial reception. It was used in only a fraction of the Churches, and evoked a great diversity of opinion and severe criticism in many Dioceses. But the Convention in Philadelphia, in September and October, 1789, the First General Convention of the American Church, as the fully organized and representative body, produced by authority the first accepted Prayer Book, with the ratifying words: "This Convention do hereby establish the said Book; and they declare it to be the Liturgy of this Church."

The title as found on the first page of this Prayer Book is significant. It was called: "The Ratification of the Book of Common Prayer by the Bishops, the Clergy, and the Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, in Convention, October 16th, 1789." And from that day to this the name there used has remained the formal title of the American Church. Who made it; who gave it; when it was formally and officially declared to be the name of the Church, nobody seems to know. But Protestant Episcopal is the official

designation of our Church in the United States to-day, from East to West.

As to the changes, it was only to be expected that the free spirit of the American Republic should enter into the character of their own national liturgy. And so, from the beginning, there were variations, sometimes important, sometimes unimportant, sometimes valuable, sometimes trivial and unnecessary. Some of the alterations and revisions were made for the purpose of abbreviation, such, for instance, as the shortening of the Venite and the cutting off of its last four verses, substituting in their place, two verses from Psalm xcvi; also the shortening of the Benedictus to four verses; the allowing of any one of the Ten Selections of Psalms; and the permission to use the Gloria only once, at the end of the Psalms. Others were for the purpose of enrichment, such as the new Sentences, for instance, the additional Collects, Petitions in the Litany, added forms of prayer, and the authorization of the Tate and Brady version of the Psalms, and twenty-seven Hymns. Others were for the purpose of adaptation to American needs. There was, of course, the Prayer for the President instead of the King. There were the prayers for National Thanksgiving,—the American Episcopal Church, according to Bishop Perry, being the first of all Christian bodies to nationalize the Thanksgiving observance.

With regard to all these changes, opinions will naturally vary. Some will think all of them very good; and others will think some of them not so good. For ourselves, we think it was a distinct loss when the American Church dropped the last four verses of the Venite; for if ever the last four verses of the Venite, with their solemn appeal, were needed, it is in this age of indifferentism to the Divine Voice. To many, too, it would seem a pity that the words 'Here on earth' were omitted in the title of the Prayer for the Church Militant. And, of course, a vast number of Churchmen would consider it not only a

loss, but almost a doctrinal defect, that they omitted altogether the Athanasian Creed. In those days they do not seem to have had much difficulty in making changes, and accordingly they inserted many in their Prayer Book. It was done apparently without strenuous contention, or the necessity for the endless meetings and re-meetings of committees as to-day. Nearly all the changes, too, were changes that the commonsense of the Church of England of the twentieth century is recommending, and many of them are found in the last revisions of the Scottish and Irish Prayer Books and in the revised Canadian Prayer Book of 1921.

After four years, in 1793, a Second Standard Prayer Book appeared, with a few changes, on the authority of the General Convention of 1792. This Book held the ground for nearly thirty years. The changes were mainly changes of printing, punctuation, and spelling.

In 1821, the Third Standard Prayer Book came out, with a few minor changes, and two very important ones. These were the addition of the Ordination Services, and the incorporation of the Thirty-nine Articles, identical with those of the Church of England, except the State references and the omission of Article XXI.

Ten years later, the Fourth Standard Prayer Book appeared, the authorized Book of 1832, with a few changes and the inclusion of 212 hymns. In this edition, the Tate and Brady version of the Psalms disappeared and passed out of the American Church for ever. One striking feature of the American Communion Service appeared first in this edition and that was the substitution of the words ' Right side of the Table ' for ' North side of the Table,' as in the Fourth Ante-Communion Rubric of the English Church.

Six years later, in 1838, the Fifth Edition of the Standard Prayer Book came out. It had 720 corrections, most of them referring to misprints, lettering, punctuation and other defects. On the second page of this Book

appeared the following declaration which seems to demonstrate the activity of the women of the American Church nearly a century ago.

> In pursuance of a Resolution of the General Convention
> of
> The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States
> of America,
> we, the subscribers, a Committee appointed for the purpose, do hereby send forth this
>
> CORRECTED STANDARD PRAYER BOOK
>
> being printed from the stereotyped plates of the Female Protestant Episcopal Prayer Book Society of Philadelphia.

In the year 1845, the Sixth Standard Prayer Book came out, a very fine edition.

In 1871, the Seventh Standard Prayer Book was issued in a royal octavo volume, the printing and stereotyping being done in England. The changes were mainly the correction of typographical inaccuracies.

In 1892, the Standard Prayer Book as now used in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America came forth. As far as its printing was concerned, it was a marvellous specimen of high art, a splendid example of the progress of printing and bookbinding in one hundred years. It still remains the Standard of the American Church. As far as its size and general appearance goes, the American Prayer Book differs very little from the English. It is printed very much in the same style, and, at first glance, appears to be practically the same Book of Common Prayer as the English Prayer Book. But it differs in many very important details and general features.

What are the salient differences between the English and the American Prayer Books?

1. The American Prayer Book contains a number of additional Sentences at the beginning of Morning and

Evening Prayer. Many of these are exquisitely beautiful, especially the twelve for use at the special seasons of the Church's year. The first two are: "The Lord is in His holy Temple: let all the earth keep silence before Him." (Hab. ii, 20.) "I was glad when they said unto me, we will go into the House of the Lord." (Psa. cxxii, 1.) The new Sentences are put first, and then follow the Ten Sentences from the English Prayer Book.

2. The next striking feature is the provision made for shortening the Morning and Evening Services, and the Rubric authorizing Morning Prayer or the Litany or the Holy Communion to be used as distinct Services.

3. New petitions are added to the Litany, which, however, is much shorter than in our Prayer Book; and a number of Prayers and Thanksgivings are added, many of them of great beauty.

4. The Nicene Creed was inserted in Morning and Evening Prayer, after the Apostles' Creed, for alternative use, the American Church having apparently committed themselves to this as far back as 1786. The Prayer for All Conditions and a General Thanksgiving are put in Morning and Evening Prayer, after a prayer for the clergy and people; a great convenience for the ordinary worshipper, as well as for the clergyman. The first four verses of Psalm xcii were inserted as an additional alternative, after the Cantate in Evening Prayer, and seven verses from the ciii Psalm, as an alternative with the Deus Misereatur. The greater part of the Commination Service was inserted after the Occasional Thanksgivings, and A Penitential Office.

Throughout the Book generally there were changes made in the phraseology. The archaic 'which' was changed into 'who,' in the Te Deum were put the words, "Thou didst humble Thyself to be born of a Virgin," and many expressions were inserted more adapted to modern speech.

5. In the Communion Service, the recitation of the Ten Commandments could be omitted, provided they were

said once on a Sunday, and the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God," etc., Matt. xxii, 37-39, were provided as an optional addition. The Apostles' Creed may be said at the Communion instead of the Nicene, but the Nicene Creed is required to be used on the five great festivals.

6. Alterations were made in the Baptismal and Confirmation Services; and the Burial Service was enriched by permission for a hymn and the Creed and prayers after the Lesson, and the addition of three beautiful prayers.

7. The selection of Psalms was enlarged. The Articles of Religion were placed at the end of the Book, with a separate title page.

8. But the greatest changes, that is, in contrast to the English Prayer Book, were to be found in the Communion Office. In its main essentials, the Communion Service of the American Church is very similar to that of the Scottish Episcopal Church. The old Consecration Prayer, for instance, which in our Prayer Book is divided into the Prayer for the Church Militant, the Consecration Prayer Proper, and the so-called Sacrifice Prayer, after the Lord's Prayer, is one very long prayer, and consists of four parts: The Institution, the Oblation, the Invocation, and the Sacrificial Prayer. But in many ways the American goes back to the English and differs from the Scottish Liturgy of to-day in the order of the Service and the prayers. For instance, it follows the English and puts the prayer for the Church Militant, and the Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words, and Prayer of Humble Access, before the Consecration. Now, in the Scottish Liturgy, these all come after the Consecration Prayer. The American Prayer Book puts in both parts of the Words of Administration, while the Scottish only has the first, as in the First Prayer Book of 1549.

The late Professor Butler of Philadelphia, in his *History of the Book of Common Prayer*, points out many elements of difference in the American Book, both from the First

Prayer Book and from the Scottish, that are of strong doctrinal significance, and shows that the American Book offers a strong protest against transubstantiation.

On the whole, in contrast to the English Prayer Book, the American Prayer Book represents a somewhat higher tone in the administration of the Holy Communion, combined with a much more democratic tone in the administration of the various offices and services. The freer spirit of the American Republic found vent in the alteration of many of the obsolete expressions and conservative forms of the Mother Church. But when we consider the absolute freedom and liberty of the Americans from the traditions and laws of the National Church of England, it is somewhat remarkable to think that they have not introduced more radical changes, and departed more widely and noticeably from the Prayer Book and Services of the Church of England.

Points for Discussion

The striking loyalty of American Churchmen to the English Prayer Book ideal, and their frank confession of gratitude to the Church of England for her care and protection.

Whether the more drastic alterations and additions have always tended to edification and progress, especially the tendency to abbreviation.

Is the disclaimer of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States that it had no intention of departing from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine or worship consistent with its Consecration Prayer in the Communion Office ?

The skill with which the Articles peculiarly British or English, as the 36th and 37th, have been altered and adapted in the American Thirty-nine Articles.

CHAPTER XXII

THE SCOTTISH PRAYER BOOK—1637-1912

THE history of the Scottish Prayer Book is of curious interest. It began with a calamity. In 1636, King Charles I determined to force upon the Scots a Prayer Book that had been drawn up by two of the English Bishops, under the supervision of what would now be called the representative Anglo-Catholic Bishops, Laud, and Wren, and Juxon. It was a fatuous project. For many years the Scotch had protested against the English Prayer Book, and for at least ten years before 1636, the irritation had been deepening. The high ritual that the King introduced at his Coronation in Edinburgh in 1633, and the autocratic enforcement of some of the Laudian innovations ought to have shown the English ecclesiastical leaders that the introduction of the English Prayer Book was impossible. However, the thing was done, and the Book of Common Prayer for Scotland may be said to have died at its birth. It is hard for us nowadays to understand the state of public feeling in those times, but, as is well known, when the Dean opened the Book to begin the service on that 23rd day of July, 1637, in the Cathedral Church in Edinburgh, a riot started. An old woman, whose memorial can be seen in St. Giles', picked up a stool and hurled it at the Dean's head, and the Bishop and the Dean, ignominiously retreating, escaped only with their lives.

For some time after that the Episcopal Church in Scotland was without a Prayer Book. But little by little,

through the years, the English Prayer Book began to filter in. The Scotch Episcopalians, largely through the teaching of the Non-Jurors, preferred the Communion Service of the Book of 1637, which practically embodied the Eucharistic position of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. Little by little, also, editions of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637 began to be printed; in 1724, 1731, and 1755. A more authoritative edition came out in 1764. Until 1912, that edition was accepted as the standard Scottish Prayer Book; though editions sprang up from time to time, apparently according to the taste and fancy of the various Bishops under whose jurisdiction they were printed. And the curious thing is that the Scottish Church, for many years, did not have, and it even now has not, as the English, American and Canadian Churches have, a Prayer Book that was, or is to be, exclusively used as the Prayer Book of its own National Church. It seems that the English Prayer Book could be used in all congregations, and the English Book of Common Prayer was declared to be the service book of the Episcopal Church of Scotland. At the same time, any congregation that desired to use the Scottish Liturgy could do so by the certified Declaration of Desire on the part of a given number of communicants. In 1888, out of two hundred and seventy-five congregations, only fifty-nine used the Scottish Liturgy. Since that time the use of the Scottish Liturgy has become more general; some churches use the Scottish Liturgy only for the whole service, and others the English Communion Service, pp. 302-327, Book of Common Prayer (Scotland). The common uses seem to be: to have the Scottish and English alternately; or to have the Scottish on the festivals and week-days, and the English on Sundays; or to have the Scottish Liturgy at the early celebration and the English Communion Service at the eleven o'clock.

The present Book of Common Prayer for Scotland bears the date of 1912, and has the imprimatur of the Bishops

of the Episcopal Church in Scotland. Its title page calls it " The Book of Common Prayer, etc., according to the Use of the Church of England," etc., and " The Scottish Liturgy," and the permissible " additions to and deviations from the Service Books of the Scottish Church, as canonically sanctioned." It is practically the English Prayer Book revised and adapted, with most of the elements now so familiar in the American and Canadian Churches. The Book is filled with these permissible alterations, which are indicated by a marking line drawn down the left side of the page. Many of them are simply the suggestions of a sanctified commonsense, and indicate a freedom from the rigid uniformity of the State Church of England. For instance, in Morning and Evening Prayer some beautiful sentences are added for the great festivals ; the Exhortation may be abbreviated ; and a single prayer may be substituted for the State prayers. Gospels and Epistles are provided for the Ember Days, the Transfiguration, a Dedication Festival, Harvest Thanksgivings, Matrimony, Burial, and the five National Saints : St. Kentigern ; St. Patrick ; St. Columba ; St. Ninian, and St. Margaret of Scotland.

An alternative Confirmation Service, somewhat like the American, is given, except that it has Consignation as well as Confirmation, with the words : " I sign thee with the sign of the Cross, and I lay my hands upon thee," etc. An alternative and shorter address is provided for the Marriage Service ; and beautiful alternative Lessons, John v, 24 ; vi, 37 ; xi, 21 ; II Cor. iv, 16 ; I Thess. iv, 13 ; Rev. vii, 9 ; xxi, 3, for use in the Burial Service. An additional Burial Service for Young Children is provided, which is very appropriate, with some alternative prayers.

But the main feature of the Scottish Prayer Book is what is called " The Scottish Liturgy for the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist and Administration of the Holy Communion, commonly called The Scottish Communion

Office." That is THE distinctive feature of the Book. Yet, curiously enough, it is only an alternative or permissible service, as the Communion Service in the English Prayer Book is frequently, if not more generally, used. The Scottish Liturgy, on the whole, is what would be commonly called very High Church. It is introduced not by four Rubrics, as with us, but by only one which says that: "*The Holy Table, having at the Communion time a fair white linen cloth upon it, with other decent furniture meet for the high Mysteries there to be celebrated, shall stand at the uppermost part of the Chancel or Church. And the Presbyter, standing at the Holy Table, shall say the Lord's Prayer,*" etc. It is very significant, also, that throughout the whole of this Service the word 'priest' does not occur. The word used is always 'the Presbyter.' Instead of the Ten Commandments, the Lord's summary of the law may be used and, on certain occasions, even the three lines of the Lesser Litany, an abbreviation indeed! A large number of very beautiful texts and passages of Scripture are added for the Offertory Sentences, and, after the presentation of the Alms, the Rubric orders that the Presbyter shall then 'OFFER UP' and place the Bread and Wine prepared for the Sacrament upon the Lord's Table. Then come the Sursum Corda and the Ter Sanctus, with the proper prefaces, and then the great fourfold Consecration Prayer. This is almost identical with the American, and consists of The Institution, with the words, "All glory be to Thee, Almighty God"; The Oblation; The Invocation; and the Prayer of Sacrifice; which is followed by the Prayer for the Church Militant, and the Lord's Prayer, the "Ye that do truly," the Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words, Prayer of Humble Access, and the Administration. But there are a few very striking differences from the American:

1. At the end of the section with the Oblation Prayer,

these beautiful words are found: "and looking for His coming again, with power and great glory."

2. The Invocation indicates a somewhat higher doctrine than the American, and even a decidedly higher teaching than that of the First Prayer Book. For these are the words: "We beseech Thee, most merciful Father, to hear us and to send Thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that, being blessed and hallowed by his life-giving power, they may become the body and blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son," etc. The prayer in the First Prayer Book (Edward VI, 1549) was that "they may be UNTO US the Body and Blood," etc., which is more the Lutheran teaching.

3. The Words of Administration go back to the First Edward VI Prayer Book. Only the first part of the Words of Administration are used, and the words: "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee," and "Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee," are left out. (It is significant also, that in the English Communion Office as found in the Scottish Prayer Book (p. 323), there is an explanatory Rubric to the effect that if it is thought desirable to shorten the words of administration, as at Christmas, Easter, or on special occasions, or in the case of pressure caused by large and unexpected numbers, the priest having first said the whole of the words of administration once for all the communicants, may use the first half of each form in communicating individuals).

4. At the end of the Scottish Liturgy there are two short Rubrics. The first permits the use of the Mixed Chalice, in the words: "It is customary to mix a little pure water with the wine in the eucharistic Cup." The second permits reservation, which, it says, is a long existing custom in the Scottish Church. "The Presbyter may reserve so much of the Consecrated Gifts as may be required for the communion of the sick."

5. About a dozen additional Collects are found at the end, many of them of great beauty, seven of them being prayers for the great festivals and seasons, such as Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, and so on.

6. Some minor points are worthy of reference. For instance, at the end of the Gospel the words are: "Thanks be to Thee, O Lord, for this Thy *glorious* Gospel," a fine expression, taken probably from II Cor. iv, 4. The Offertory sentences, above referred to, contain one or two decided innovations. The passages in Gen. iv, 3-4-5, and St. Mark xii, 41-44, are given whole, and I Tim. vi, 17-19, is also given in its entirety. Several additional Proper Prefaces are provided for the Epiphany, the Purification, All Saints, and so on. After the reception of the elements, a very beautiful little Exhortation is given by the Presbyter to the people, inviting them to "give thanks to our Lord God who hath graciously vouchsafed to admit us to the participation of His Holy Mysteries, and beg of Him grace to perform our vows and to persevere."

Reviewing the Book, as a whole, it strikes one as being in marked contrast to the English Prayer Book. The more democratic and liberal tone is in decided accord with the desires both of the clergy and people of our Church, as expressed in every revision, past and present. The Rubric on the page before Morning Prayer, which gives permission to the minister to ask the prayers of the congregation for the sick or for sufferers, or for other prayers, is an indication of a more tender and more practical spirit than is customary in some of the more conservative Churches. But, as far as the Communion is concerned, it represents the semi-reformed effort of the English Church in 1549, and reflects the Anglo-Catholic tone of the Laudian régime. The spirit as well as the form of the primitive liturgy is reproduced in the Invocation, and the Eucharistic teaching of the First Prayer Book, with its doctrine of the Real Presence, is strongly set forth. Whether the Scottish ecclesiastical mind

regards it as inconsistent or not, it would perhaps be hard to say, but it is curious that, while the Scottish Liturgy omits the Black Rubric, with its strong protest against the teaching of the Real Presence, in the words "any corporal presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood," as being inconsistent probably with the first Rubric which speaks of "high Mysteries there to be celebrated," a few pages later that Rubric is to be found, on page 331, at the end of the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, the Communion Service according to the Prayer Book of the Church of England.

Points for Discussion

Whether the plainness of the Scotch Presbyterian Service tended to give the Scotch Episcopalian a higher ritual and service, or influence the Scotch generally.

The retention of the word 'presbyter' throughout the Communion Service in view of the fact that the Caroline Bishops sought so ardently to emphasize the word 'priest' in the English Service.

The analogies with and the differences from the American Prayer Book in the various revisions and editions.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE IRISH PRAYER BOOK—1877

IF the Scottish Prayer Book was revised on what might be called Anglo-Catholic lines, the Irish Prayer Book was certainly revised on very distinctly Protestant and evangelical lines. From the beginning to the end everything has been carefully removed from it that would favour any sort of Romish teaching or ritual, and the Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, fifty-four in number, at the end, are most definite in their anti-Romish clearness.

The tumult and the shouting in Synod and Parliament during the years of the Irish Church Disestablishment question has died away. But seldom has any ecclesiastical controversy been more fiercely waged than that which agitated England and Ireland from 1865 to 1869 and terminated in the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of Ireland in January, 1871. It was largely due to the eloquence and persistence of Mr. Gladstone, and the Act has been described, whatever may be thought of its merits or demerits, as the most remarkable legislative achievement of modern times.

The logical consequence of Irish Church disestablishment was an Irish Church Prayer Book. In the General Synod or Convention, as it was called, which met in 1870, a revision of the Prayer Book upon Irish lines was decided on and, after years of debate and strenuous Committee work, " The Book of Common Prayer, According to the Use of the Church of Ireland," was completed, and since

1877 it has been the sole standard of worship in Ireland's Church.

As a whole, in all its main features, it is absolutely identical with the English Prayer Book. The Prefaces, the Calendar, the Tables and Rules, Morning and Evening Prayer, Gospels and Epistles, Communion and other Services, the Psalms, the Ordinal, the Thirty-nine Articles; all these things are exactly the same. As far as the whole tenor or structure of the Book is concerned there has been practically no change. The old Prayer Book stands.

But from the very beginning it is seen that the Protestant element is brought out into very distinct prominence. The Preface, prefixed at the revision of 1877, inserts two fairly long paragraphs safeguarding very definitely the simple and Scriptural aspects of the Holy Communion. Two other paragraphs are inserted with regard to the removal of the Special Absolution in the Visitation of the Sick, and the retention of the words in the Ordinal, " whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven." As to the first, it states that as an Absolution " has been the cause of offence to many, and is a form unknown to the Church in ancient times, we saw no adequate reason for its retention." And with regard to the words in the Ordinal, the Preface uses these striking words : " Upon a full review of our Formularies, we deem it plain and here declare that, save in the matter of Ecclesiastical censures, no power or authority is by them ascribed to the Church or to any of its Ministers, in respect of forgiveness of sins after Baptism, other than that of declaring and pronouncing, on God's part, remission of sins to all that are truly penitent . . . nor is it anywhere in our Formularies taught or implied that confession to and absolution by a priest are any indications of God's pardon." And these Protestant or evangelical features run throughout the whole of the Prayer Book.

The Ornaments Rubric, for instance, is left out, and

the vexatious question with regard to the wearing of a Chasuble or coloured Stoles is decided for every Minister by a provision in the fourth Canon, that only a plain white surplice shall be worn, and the customary scarf of plain black silk, with the Hood. The Minister is allowed to wear a plain black gown when preaching, but, with this exception, " No Minister shall wear any other Ecclesiastical vestment or ornament."

In the Catechism, a new Question and Answer is inserted in the Sacramental Section, embodying the teaching of the third section of the 28th Article :

> *Ques. :* After what manner are the Body and Blood of Christ taken and received in the Lord's Supper ?
>
> *Ans. :* Only after a heavenly and spiritual manner ; and the mean whereby they are taken and received is Faith.

In the Visitation of the Sick, the contrast to our Prayer Book is very marked. Instead of the words in our Rubric authorizing the Minister to invite a special confession of his sins from the sick person, if his conscience feel troubled with any weighty matter, after which confession the Priest shall absolve him, etc., etc., in the Irish Prayer Book the words are : " The sick person shall be moved to open his grief, after which (if he humbly and heartily desire it) the Minister shall say thus : Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who of His great Mercy hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them that, with hearty repentance and true faith, turn unto Him, have mercy upon thee, pardon and deliver thee from all thy sins," etc. ; that is, the form appointed in the Office for the Holy Communion.

At the end of the Prayer Book (p. 611), are the Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical. They are fifty-four in number, and some of them are most decided in their Protestant tone. The fifth orders that the Minister in no case, when he is offering up Public Prayer, shall turn his

back to the congregation; and no Minister or other person during the time of Divine Service shall make the sign of the Cross or bow or do any other act of obeisance to the Lord's Table.

The 34th Canon safeguards the Church against anything like a fixed Altar, with its ritualistic coverings, declaring that "The Communion Table shall be a movable table of wood, and covered, as provided by the Rubric."

The 35th Canon prohibits any lighted lamps or candles on the Communion Table; and the 36th, for the forbidding of 'Crosses on or behind the Communion Table,' declares that "There shall not be any Cross, ornamental or otherwise, on the Communion Table, or on the covering thereof, nor shall a Cross be erected or depicted on the wall or other structure behind the Communion Table, in any of the Churches or other places of worship of the Church of Ireland."

The 37th Canon, 'Of the Administration of the Lord's Supper,' forbids the elevation of the Paten or Cup beyond what is necessary in the consecrating act, and declares the use of the Mixed Chalice and of the Wafer to be unlawful and prohibited, though it permits the customary act of reverence when the name of our blessed Lord is mentioned in reciting the Nicene Creed.

The 38th Canon not only forbids incense, but also "any substitution therefor or imitation thereof."

The 39th Canon, which deals with Processions, enacts that "It shall be unlawful to carry any cross, banner, or picture through any Church or Churchyard, in any religious service or ceremonial."

All these regulations and rubrics reveal a very distinctly evangelical resolve on the part of the revisers of the Irish Church Prayer Book.

In addition to these things, one might further remark that there is throughout the Irish Church Prayer Book a decided strain of what might be called Church common-

sense. Here and there little changes are made that make very clear the meaning of the rubrics and the intention of the Church. The 5th Canon, which orders the Minister at the Holy Communion to stand at ' the north side of the Table,' makes what that means quite clear by going on to state : " by which, both here and in the Rubric of the Communion Office, is to be understood that side or end of the Table which, in Churches lying East and West, is towards the North." Sentences are inserted that help forward, in many ways, what might be called the congregational aspect of worship. The 5th Canon provides for a hymn at the beginning or end of any Office, and a Prayer with or without a hymn or Psalm at the beginning or end of a sermon. A Rubric before the General Thanksgiving, enables it to be said by the whole congregation, and one in the Communion Service permits the Minister to say the Words to all at the Table, where it is inconvenient, by reason of numbers, to address each communicant separately. As in the American Church, parents are allowed to be sponsors for their children.

Sensibly chosen and appropriate Psalms and Lessons are provided in the Burial Service and, as in the American and Canadian, the words in the Marriage Service are changed, to great advantage.

As in the American and Canadian Prayer Books, additional services are provided at the end of the Book, before the Articles, for Institutions and Harvest Thanksgiving, and Church and Churchyard Consecrations, and the Visitation of Prisoners.

The Irish Church has retained the Athanasian Creed, but without a Rubric providing for its use. This practically means that it may never be used, and, as a matter of fact, in Ireland, in many Churches, it is never heard. Many Irish Churchmen, clerical and lay, have been heard to say that they never heard the Athanasian Creed in an Irish Church. The Preface states : " But, in so doing, this Church has not withdrawn its witness, as expressed

in the Articles of Religion, and here again renewed, to the truth of the Articles of the Christian faith therein contained." As one who went through the intense and prolonged debates on the Athanasian Creed in the Sessions of the Canadian Prayer Book Revision Committee, the writer wonders with what controversy and with what unanimity the decision of the Irish Church was finally arrived at. After all, it is not so drastic as the action of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, which has left it out of its Prayer Book altogether.

To conclude. As one summarizes the Prayer Book of the Irish Church, one sees in it the earnest effort of a body of Churchmen, Bishops, clergy and laity, determined, in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free, solemnly to carry through a Prayer Book revision that would maintain, on the one hand, the main substance and chief parts of the English Book of Common Prayer and the true doctrine of Christ and the pure manner and order of Divine Service that it contains; and, at the same time, to so clarify and simplify its expressions and enrich and amplify its services as to make it a Book that would be worthy of the Ancient Catholic and Apostolic Church of Ireland, as a Reformed and Protestant Church. If, on the one hand, it is considered, from the High Church standpoint, to be too drastic a revision in the Low Church or Protestant direction, it must be remembered that the constant and overpowering menace of the Church of Rome in Ireland has tended constantly to drive the clergy and people of the Church of Ireland into a most Protestant attitude. As a burnt child dreads the fire, the contact with Popery has engendered in them a dread of every piece of Romish ritual and every approximation of Romish doctrine. On the other hand, the example of the American and Scotch Episcopal Churches in their revisions probably led to the adoption of many of the commonsense alterations that have found their place in the Irish

Book and have made it, as a whole, in many respects, a model for all the Episcopal Churches.

Points for Discussion

Has the Irish Church, as a whole, in any real sense, seriously declined from loyalty to the truth of the Deity of Christ or the doctrine of the Trinity, by its practical omission of the Athanasian Creed?

The reasons for the strong attachment of the Irish Church people to their Church both in Ireland and in the Colonies.

Is the unity of the Irish Church as a whole—Bishops, clergy, and laity—to be explained by the more Protestant character of its Prayer Book?

CHAPTER XXIV

THE CANADIAN PRAYER BOOK—1911-1921

THE story of the Canadian Prayer Book is the story of the earnest and careful revision of a young National Church. For 170 years the Church of England in Canada used, with great loyalty, the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England. For the Church came to Canada with the flag. The origin of the Church of England in Canada was truly a day of very small things. The reader will remember that up to 1713, what is now the Dominion of Canada was then a vast wilderness belonging to France, though England still claimed it by right of prior discovery. With the exception of the scattered Indian tribes, such as the Montaignais, the Iroquois, the Hurons, the Blackfeet, and the Sioux, and the thinly settled hamlets and villages in Nova Scotia, Quebec and Montreal, the inhabitants were all French. But in that year, 1713, by the Peace of Utrecht, Arcadia or Nova Scotia passed into the possession of England. In 1750, the British Government brought over a large number of emigrants to settle in Nova Scotia. They landed at Halifax, the first waves of the incoming tide of British immigrants, and one of their first acts was to build a Church of pine and cedar and oak, brought in a frigate from Boston, called St. Paul's Church. So the Church of England started in Canada. One Church; one congregation; and the English Church Prayer Book. But, little by little, the people spread and, in 1763, by the Treaty of Paris, the whole of what is now the vast

Dominion of Canada, larger in area than Europe itself, passed under the control of the British Crown.

The population for a while made little advance. Canada was not exactly what the French King contemptuously called it : a few acres of snow. But it really was little more than a boundless extent of pine and spruce and maple. But after the American Revolution, a large number of Britishers who determined to remain loyal to King and flag came into Canada, about forty thousand in all. They were known then, and their descendants have been known since, as the United Empire Loyalists. It was an infusion of splendid blood into the Canadian body national, and the larger number of them were as loyal to the Church as to the Crown.

The trend of progress, still slow, was to the west and north. A few years later the Church of England was found with Bishops and Clergy and Churches, in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec (Lower Canada), and in Ontario, then called Upper Canada.

After the Battle of Waterloo, in 1815, and the consequent depression and unemployment in Great Britain, a great company of settlers arrived in Canada, the backbone of our Church people being made up of a class of English and Irish very loyal to their Church. Since that time Canada has grown enormously, and the Canadian Church has kept pace with the increase of the population. The Church of England in Canada is now a Church with four Archbishops, twenty-five Bishops, over 1,700 clergy, 2,800 churches, about a dozen or so Divinity Colleges in affiliation with Provincial Universities, and a large number of missionary and educational enterprises.

For 170 years or so the Churchmen of Canada used the Prayer Book of their fathers, with satisfaction and obedience. But, though nearly a century and a half passed before any independent effort for revision was made, the need of adapting the Prayer Book, in certain minor ways, to the novel conditions of Canadian life, was felt from the

very beginning. The Bishops, as was natural, were the pioneers in this work of adapting the Prayer Book, and acting upon what one supposes they considered to be the *jus liturgicum episcopi*, they drew up certain forms of prayer and certain services perhaps for their own use, perhaps even for parochial or for clerical use at certain times and seasons, such as Harvest Thanksgivings and Church Consecrations. Still a century almost passed before anything was canonically done. The first action was taken at the Provincial Synod of Canada in 1877, when some special forms for services of that kind were drawn up and authorized. But, up to this time, the thought of a Canadian Prayer Book was not conceived.

The first idea of a Canadian Prayer Book seems to have sprung from the mind of a layman, Mr. Matthew Wilson, K.C., of the Diocese of Huron. It was only an idea, and perhaps a very limited idea. But if it was only a thought in one Churchman's mind, it was the inaugurating seed-germ of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England in Canada. In 1896, he approached his Bishop (the honoured and beloved Bishop Baldwin), with the proposal that there should be a Canadian Edition of the Book of Common Prayer. But he went further. In the Synod of that year he moved a resolution that "The General Synod be memoralized to take such steps as may be deemed expedient and practicable to have printed a Prayer Book for Canada." It was, when the time is considered, a somewhat revolutionary proposal, and little came of it directly, though indirectly and ultimately its results were remarkable. Mr. Wilson was a little too far ahead of the times. But, as Archdeacon Armitage says, in his valuable story of the Revision of the Canadian Prayer Book, there can be no doubt that to this Synod resolution "may be traced the genesis of the whole work of Prayer Book Revision in Canada."

The subject of revision was not let drop, however, and in the autumn it was brought up in the General Synod

which met at Winnipeg for its first meeting in 1896. The General Synod was cautious. Still they took what was, for that day, a really bold step and recommended that an Appendix be added to the Book of Common Prayer. Very little, however, came of it. One reason perhaps was that most of the Bishops at that time were authorizing or issuing little printed services for special occasions, for themselves, such as Harvest Thanksgivings, Church Consecrations, Inductions, Intercession for Missions, and Prayers for Legislatures and Synods. However, in the meantime, a Committee was working on an Appendix for the Prayer Book, and the work went on for some years. Many of them were very prominent men, and it was a fairly representative Committee, though the real work was done by one man, Dr. Kingdon, the Bishop of Fredericton.

In the year 1905, in Quebec, the Appendix was presented to the General Synod. It was a somewhat copious volume containing many services. There were alterations of all sorts, prayers in abundance, and about eighty-five pages of original matter. It was debated with great animation, but after a fair but vigorous discussion of its defects and excellences, it was rejected as an unsatisfactory experiment.

But the movement of Prayer Book Revision could not be stayed. In the next General Synod, in 1908, it came up again. Little was done then beyond appointing committees, and the adoption of a principle of revision. But that principle became the outstanding feature of Canadian Prayer Book revision, and is to-day the pride of the Church of England in Canada. It was this : " That a Canadian Edition of the Prayer Book be issued, but *no addition or change in any portion of the Prayer Book* shall be made which would in any way make or indicate *any change in doctrines or principles* of the Church of England in Canada."

In 1911, the work was successfully and amicably

launched. A Committee of Revision, consisting of all the Bishops, thirty-one clergy and eighteen laymen, was appointed, and their orders were to proceed upon the lines of the principles laid down by the Lambeth Conference of 1908. One of their first actions was to appoint a much smaller Central Revision Committee, consisting of two Archbishops, four Bishops, eleven clergy, and nine laymen, who went to work at once and sat in session after session of earnest debate. It was a remarkably representative body of men. Deans and Archdeacons and Canons and Professors and City Rectors and Judges and lawyers and men of business worked side by side with their Bishops. They were men of varying mind and wide experiences, but all one in their love to Christ and the Church; unified by a strong desire to do the best they could, with all their powers of mind and will, for the interests of their beloved Canadian Church. In 1914, they produced their first draft Book, printed by the Cambridge University Press. Then came the Great War, and things were somewhat delayed. But the work was carried on, in season and out of season, in various stages of revision, and, in 1918, the Prayer Book was tentatively sanctioned for use in the Canadian Church.

About that time a very strong effort was made to delay the Canadian revision until the English Church had finally completed its revision work. But the Primate, Archbishop Matheson, very frankly claimed that our Church in Canada should act with the independence of a grown-up daughter in her own household, and that the destiny which Canadian Churchmen ought earnestly to visualize was a Church of England in Canada that was not a mere exotic, but a Canadianized Church built up with traditions, loyalties, and literature of its own.

In 1921 the Prayer Book was finally revised and authorized by the General Synod of the Church of England as "The Book of Common Prayer, According to the Use of the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada."

In many ways it was a wonderful act, the consummation of many long years of doubts and fears. It is said that when the Bishop of Huron heard that the Upper House, the House of Bishops, had approved of the new Prayer Book by a unanimous vote, he involuntarily exclaimed, not knowing that he was giving expression to his thoughts : " That is something I never expected to see." and when asked by Archbishop Thornloe what he said, he answered : " When I look back over the years and remember all the difficulties connected with the work of revision, even in my most sanguine moments, I hardly looked for such a result as this ; the confirmation of all our work by a unanimous vote in the Upper House."

In the Lower House, it was carried with only an insignificant minority in opposition, and from that day it has been the official and authorized Prayer Book of the Church of England in Canada.

At first it was not very widely used, many congregations, doubtless, pleading poverty, and many clergymen, inability to secure copies. But, after the lapse of two or three years, it has come into practically universal use.

When you take the Book into your hand it is identical with the English Prayer Book, except that on the back are the words, " Common Prayer, Canada," and on the first title page, " The Book of Common Prayer, Canada." It is about the same size, too. But on opening it, many changes would strike the reader. For instance. It is paged ; a very excellent thing. And the paging is uniform, being the same in every copy, large or small. All of what are called ' Official and Desk Copies ' contain, at the end " The Act of Uniformity, *Primo Elizabethæ*, 1559." Another thing. A page is inserted before the title page which is found of great use in a country like Canada, where so many people who attend our Churches were not brought up in the Church of England. It is entitled, " How to Follow the Services in the Book of Common Prayer." After ' The Contents ' of the Book comes the

Preface to the Canadian Revision which states the main results of the Canadian Revision. They are, in summary: the adaptation of rubrics; the enrichment of the Occasional Services; the supplying of new forms; the addition of many new prayers; and the revision of the Calendar, Lectionary, and Psalter. Nearly all of the changes incorporated in the American, Irish, and Scottish Prayer Books have been adopted in our revision; but, taken as a whole, the outstanding features and the main changes in the Canadian Prayer Book are the following:

1. There is a practically new Lectionary. The Lessons for Sundays offer a much larger choice and cover a more carefully arranged series of Scripture selections. It is really the suggested Lectionary of the Convocation of Canterbury, 1915, with the exception that the Lessons from the Canonical Scriptures are ordered for those Sundays that, in the Canterbury Report, had Lections from the Apocrypha.

2. The Psalter remains as in the English Prayer Book; but, in the Canadian, the Table for the Proper Psalms on Certain Days includes Psalms for Dominion Day, Children's Services, Missions, Harvest Thanksgiving, etc.; and, at the bottom, a Table of sixteen Selections of Psalms which may be used at any time, with the approval of the Ordinary, as in the American.

3. The Calendar has many novel features. It is much shorter, covering only three pages. It leaves out some of the less known, or, more correctly speaking, rather hazily known saints, such as Lucian, Prisca, Fabian, Blasius, Nicomede, Evurtius, Britius and Machutus. But the Canadian Church has been very bold in inserting new names. It includes in its Calendar the famous names of Ignatius, Justin Martyr, Polycarp, Chrysostom, Athanasius, Patrick, Columba, Aidan, Ninian, and many others.

4. When we open the Book at Morning and Evening Prayer, the only thing that strikes one is the addition of the new Sentences. In 1552 there were eleven;

and the Canadian Prayer Book has added eleven. They are all of them beautiful, powerful, appealing; especially the Sentences for Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day and Whitsunday.

Nothing else is of any particular interest in this section except that the Creed has after it the note "That the words in the Creed, 'He descended into hell' are considered as words of the same meaning as 'He went into the place of departed spirits'" and that the Prayer for All Conditions of Men and the General Thanksgiving are inserted after the Prayer for the Clergy and People, an excellent change.

5. The Athanasian Creed is introduced by a Rubric that is probably unique in the history of the English Church. For months and, if my memory serves me aright, for years, the Athanasian Creed was kicked like a football from side to side of the sessions of the Revision Committee and the General Synods. A large volume would hardly contain the resolutions, amendments, amendments to the amendments, and speeches of all sorts and sizes, of all degrees of passion and fervour of eloquence, that raged around that storm centre of successive meetings, the Athanasian Creed and its governing Rubric. Attempt after attempt was made to have it inserted without change or Rubric, as in the Irish Prayer Book. Again and again, in session after session, a large number pressed very earnestly for the insertion of the small but pivotal word 'may' instead of 'shall.' But in vain. And then, suddenly, as it were, and in a moment, a resolution that had once been brought up in a Committee in the Convocation of Canterbury, by Canon Newbolt, "That the Athanasian Creed may be sung or said at Morning Prayer, instead of the Apostles' Creed, upon any day in the year" was sprung upon the House. It was near the end of the session, and the Synod was absolutely tired out. As a matter of fact, they were almost weary of the very name of the Athanasian Creed, and when the vote was called for, it was decided by a vote of eighty-five to sixty, and when it went to the House of Bishops it was

concurred in. And so in the Canadian Church to-day, the Athanasian Creed may be said every day in the year, or—it may never be said at all!

6. The Litany contains half a dozen or so new petitions, and includes the General Thanksgiving before the Prayer of St. Chrysostom, and Rubrics providing for its use as a separate Service, and its abbreviation.

7. In the Prayers and Thanksgivings, thirty-seven in all, many new prayers are found, many of them of great beauty and helpfulness, such as Bishop Dowden's for the New Year, and Missionaries; and Prayers for Missions, and Confirmation Candidates, and Sunday Schools, and Synods, and Workmen, and Fishermen, and Hospitals, and the Bereaved, concluding with the famous Bidding Prayer, Canadianized. Its extremely quaint phraseology and special petitions make it a curiously expressive form of devotion.

8. The Collects, Epistles and Gospels have been practically untouched, the main changes being the wording of the Collect for the Fourth Sunday in Advent, making it a direct address to the Lord Jesus and so an Advent appeal to Him to come back again; and that beautiful additional Collect for Christmastide, taken from the First Prayer Book. Special anthems have been inserted also for Good Friday and Ascension Day and Whitsunday.

9. The Holy Communion. It will be remembered that one of the final orders given to the Revision Committee was that no change in either text or Rubric should be introduced which would involve or imply a change of doctrine or principles. In consequence, the Canadian Communion Service remains practically intact. The only new features are: the addition of the words of our Lord Jesus, as an alternative to the Ten Commandments, with certain provisos; the printing of the words, "Here shall be said or sung 'Glory be to thee, O Lord,' etc."; a few verbal alterations in the Rubrics and the wording of the prayers, such as 'impartially' for 'indifferently' and 'living' for 'lively'; and the

enrichment of the Offertory Sentences by a few beautiful and appropriate texts.

10. In the remaining Services, the changes are perhaps more drastic.

The Confirmation Service is enriched by the Presentation Address to the Bishop: "Reverend Father in God, I present unto you these persons to receive the laying on of hands," etc.; the enrichment of the Preface by the Three Reasons given for Confirmation; the reading of the words of Holy Scripture in Acts viii, 5, Acts xix, 1, Hebrews vi, 1; and the enlargement of the Bishop's questions:

"Do you here renounce the devil and all his works," etc.? with the answer, "I do."

"Do you believe all the Articles of the Christian Faith?" with the answer, "I do."

"Will you endeavour to keep God's holy will," etc.? with the answer, "I will, God being my Helper."

The Marriage Service has, on the preceding page, the Table of Kindred and Affinity. The address is newly worded; the word 'honour' is substituted for 'worship,' and a Collect, Epistle and Gospel are provided for the Marriage Service, if the Holy Communion is celebrated. The first Rubric provides that the banns may be published in the Service of the Communion as well as after the Creed, or Second Lesson. But perhaps the most striking addition is the Second Rubric which reads: "Note also, That no clergyman within the jurisdiction of the Church of England in Canada shall solemnize a marriage between persons either of whom shall have been divorced from one who is living at the time." The Church of England in Canada is possibly the only Church in the Empire that has so definite and exclusive a direction for its ministers with regard to the Divorce question.

The Order for the Visitation of the Sick has added a number of special prayers of great beauty, and a list of eighteen passages of Holy Scripture which will be found suitable for use in the sick-room.

The Burial Service includes, in the opening Sentences, the words of our Lord Jesus, "Let not your heart be troubled," John xiv, 1-2, the xxiii Psalm, Matt. xviii, 1; 6, 10, for a child's burial, and I Thess. iv, 13, with a number of comforting prayers.

The rest of the Book is practically the same as the English Prayer Book to the end of the Thirty-nine Articles. But after the Articles, ten Special Services are printed; for Dominion Day, Children, Missions, Harvest, Institution and Induction, Laying Foundation Stone, Consecration of a Church, of a Churchyard, of a Cemetery, and Forms of Prayer to be used in Families, concluding with a Table of Prayers and Collects appropriate for frequent use in Family Prayer.

On the whole, the Prayer Book of the Canadian Church represents a revision that is at once democratic and conservative. It is not quite as democratic as the American, nor as Protestant as the Irish, nor as 'Catholic' as the Scottish. It is more conservative than the Scottish and American in the Communion Office. It maintains unimpaired the essentials, the main features, and the teaching of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England. At the same time it is more adapted to the present-day life and larger outlook of the Anglican Church in the twentieth century, and is very wisely adapted to the needs of the people of the Church of England in a new country like Canada.

The reader who desires to go more closely into the subject of the new Canadian Prayer Book is referred to that very able volume, published by the Cambridge University Press, *The Story of the Canadian Revision of the Prayer Book*, by Archdeacon Armitage, of St. Paul's Church, Halifax. Archdeacon Armitage was, throughout, the Secretary of the Revision Committee, and is the

Official Custodian of the Canadian Book of Common Prayer. The remarkable tribute paid to him by the General Synod of the Church of England in Canada at its session in 1921, when the whole body of Archbishops, Bishops and Clergy, and laity, stood while the Primate presented to him the thanks of the Canadian Church, was a well deserved tribute to his indefatigable labour and his untiring activity.

Points for Discussion

In view of the distractions and controversies in the English Church with regard to the Prayer Book revision (1920-25) must not the conservative work of the Canadian Prayer Book revisers be considered wise?

The extraordinary adaptability of the Book of Common Prayer to the needs of such a cosmopolitan citizenship as that of the Dominion of Canada.

The really small number of visible and apparent changes in the Prayer Book when one considers the very large number, several hundred in all, that were made in this revision.

The Canadian Prayer Book as a possible model and standard for an Empire Prayer Book—conservative yet progressive.

CHAPTER XXV

A RETROSPECT AND A SUMMARY

AS we look back from a vantage ground of the present, we realize how largely the history of the Prayer Book has been identified with the history of the Church, the nation, and the Empire, If its influence is interwoven with the genesis and progress of one of the foremost races of the world, it is because it reflects and literally expresses on almost every page the truth of God's Word. If it shines in every continent, it is because its leading compilers in laying down their lives as martyrs for the truths it embodies became luminaries (Phil. ii, 15) for the ages. The light that was lit by Bishop Latimer and Bishop Ridley has, by God's grace, not been put out. It is shining with increasing breadth and force not only in the Empire, but in many a land on every continent. When one thinks of it in this busy, progressive and revolutionary age, it is wonderful. The Prayer Book is so old ; and yet it seems ever new. So much of it is of the ancient world, and yet it exactly fits the modern. It has often been cast down ; yet it is not destroyed. It has been cast out and buried ; and, lo, it lives. The stately fabric, with its foundations lying deep in the Bible, the New Testament and the Apostolic Church, stands as it was built by the spiritual power of our Bishop Reformers.

As we look back over its past, the one fact that is salient, and must ever be the starting point of all our thinking and reading with regard to the Prayer Book is

this: That while the Anglican Prayer Book represents in its contents the product of many ages and is a composite of many writers, many writings, many works, in many ages, AS A BOOK, in its present form and principles and language and plan, it took its form in the brief segment of about three crowded years of English ecclesiastical history. The materials cover approximately a period of three thousand years. Its contents represent the richest of the liturgical material of all Churches, ancient and modern, Jewish and Christian, Eastern and Western, Primitive and Medieval, Roman and Reformed, English and Continental. But in those three years of crowded life, 1549-52, it sprang into being, fully shaped and almost completely formed. It was the new-born of that marvellous epoch when England awoke from the deep slumbers of medievalism, and the light of the Bible and the knowledge of Christ gave new life to England's Church, and a new era to the world. Next to the Bible, the Prayer Book inaugurated the Reformation.

Or, perhaps it might be put in this way. The Prayer Book was the liturgical expression of the new era. It was the form that the *Re*-formed Church assumed. It was the instrument by which it was permanently transformed. The Prayer Book was the Reformation in a volume. That is, that our Prayer Book was the literary embodiment of the principles of the Reformation of the Church of England. It was the new form assumed by the reconstructed Church, liturgically and doctrinally, because it was the new form of its new teaching. The errors of Rome; the anti-Scriptural falsities and dangerous deceits of the Mass teaching (Articles XIX, XXII, XXXI), the soul-enslaving perils of the Confession and Purgatory, vanished at the advent of the Prayer Book, and the Church of England has known them no more. It ended the night of the dark ages. It abolished the creature-worship of Mariolatry, the Invocation of the Saints, Image-worship and Indulgences, the Confessional and Penances; as it

abolished the Pope, the Roman priest, and worship by the people in Latin, an unknown tongue. In a very real sense, it gave England and England's Church the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free.

At the same time, Anglican Churchmen throughout the world can never cease to thank God that their magnificently constructive work was conceived and carried on on such conservative lines. With their faces ever towards the light, they were not unmindful of their debt to the past. It is marvellous how they contrived to breathe a new spirit into the old forms. Bishop Dowden, in describing their liturgical work, spoke of the life and grace, the warm glow of emotion, of the language; in fact, he said, as he thought of their work, there came before his mind's eye the picture of the translator *on his knees* as he wrote. The diversified Collects and Prayers and Services, Primitive, Post-Primitive and Medieval, were turned into the great mould of their constructive workmanship, to use Bishop Dowden's phrase, and re-appeared in that priceless shape which God enabled the Reformers of the Church of England, by His grace, to produce. Allied with all the ages in material, it was absolutely new in form. Built up like some stately building, with many additions and reconstructions, it was unified and vivified by the new light of the Gospel and the Spirit of the Word. It represented the new genius of the worship of the Church of England. It was like the word of St. John, that the new commandment which he wrote was just the old word they had from the beginning. And yet the old was new; true, doubly true, true in Him, in Christ, and in you; "because the darkness is past and The True Light now shineth"! (I John ii, 7-8.)

And as reformed and representative, by God's grace, of the new life of the Reformation, it still stands. The various touches that have been given to it, from that time, the additions of enrichment and improvement and adaptation, in 1559, 1604, and 1662, have left but small

and non-essential impressions upon the whole. It still stands as the bulwark of the Church's doctrinal position and the standard of the Church's teaching. It still stands as the guarantee of the Church's democracy, with the rights of the laity triumphantly secured and guaranteed. It still stands as the universal vehicle of worship for the Anglican Church in all its ramifications, nobly adapted to the spiritual longings and needs of every one, high and low, rich and poor; their beloved Book of Common Prayer. It still stands as the most comprehensive of Liturgies, the Prayer Book most fitted for the world's needs. Its adaptation for peoples and realms of every tongue is being proved from year to year. It has been translated into many languages, and in every quarter of the globe, in the east, west, north and south; and to every class of people, white, black, red and yellow, it proves itself to be just what a Prayer Book ought to be. It still stands not only as a sober standard of feeling in matters of practical religion, but as a true source of satisfaction and strength in the spiritual life of millions.

Whether the Anglican Prayer Book will ever become the basis of a united Church, Catholic, Apostolic, Protestant, Reformed, lies beyond our dim human knowledge and foresight. Bishop Selwyn's dream of the Anglican Church as "the true centre round which may be rallied in God's own time all the scattered forces of those who agree in accepting Holy Scripture as their standard of faith, and the creeds of the undivided Church as their summary of doctrine," doubtless visioned the Book of Common Prayer as the centre of unity. And nearly forty years ago a prominent American Presbyterian, in his much-talked-of paper on "The United Churches of the United States," said of the Prayer Book, that "there is no other extant formulary which is so well fitted to become the rallying point and standard of modern Christendom," for there is about it "an ideal fitness to serve as the nucleus of a re-united Christianity."

But to ourselves, as Anglicans, our present-day duty is clear. We have received as our inheritance a priceless possession. It is a gift from our God to His Church. What we have we must hold. In days of subtle and subversive assaults upon the faith once for all delivered to the saints, the words of the Apostle may well sound in the ear of the heart of every Churchman: "Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me, in faith and love which is in Christ Jesus. That good thing which was committed unto thee, guard by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us." (II Tim. i, 13-14.) It is a call not only to keep, but to stand on guard with ever-watchful eye and ready hand to defend and preserve inviolate.

The need of the hour is no new Reformation. The Church *was* reformed. The Church *is* reformed. It ought not to be reformed again. We must not change the character of the Church of England. The new wine of a revived Arianism or Unitarianism, commingled with the strange wine of a revamped medievalism, will surely burst the bottle of our Anglican Church unity, if forced into it to-day. As we look back over the marvellous history of our Church and nation, we thank God and take courage, and our heart's desire and prayer to God is that in the unknown days of the future there may be raised up an ever-enlarging body of living witnesses who shall, as Churchmen, stand fast and hold fast that which has been transmitted to us by the martyr witnesses of the past, until He comes, whose right it is to reign.

AUTHORITIES

The books chiefly used and referred to in the compilation of this work have been :—

I. The well known books on the Prayer Book, such as : Blunt, Blakeney, Daniel, Hole, Procter and Frere ; and the smaller Manuals by Moule, Drury, Barry, Campion and Beamont, Maude, and M'Neile.

II. For the Early and Pre-Reformation Period, the main works were : Swete's *Services and Service Books ;* Burbidge's *Liturgies and Offices of the Church ;* Warren's *Liturgy of the Ante-Nicene Church ;* Duchesne's *Christian Worship ;* Brightman's *Liturgies Eastern and Western ;* Hammond's *Liturgies Eastern and Western ;* Neale's *Liturgies ;* Maskell's *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England ;* Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ ;* and, Swainson's *Greek Liturgies.*

III. For the Reformation Period, the most valuable works have been found to be : Gasquet and Bishop's *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer ;* Tomlinson's *Prayer Book, Articles and Homilies ;* the works of the Parker Society, especially : *The Liturgies of King Edward VI ; the Private Prayers, Queen Elizabeth ;* and the Works of Cranmer.

IV. But the author, if he would select any writings for special reference, would confess his debt not only to Gasquet and Tomlinson, but to the historical works of Upton, in his *Outlines of Prayer Book History ;* Butler, in his *History of the Prayer Book ;* Wright, *Early Prayer Books of America ;* and Jacobs, whose *Lutheran Movement in England* is most illuminating. But perhaps the author's highest tribute would be given to that valuable work, *The Tutorial Prayer Book,* by Neil and Willoughby,

and Bishop Dowden's attractive works for lovers of the Prayer Book, *The Workmanship of the Prayer Book*, and *Further Studies;* and, above all, the remarkable works, for they are remarkable, of the Rev. Nathaniel Dimock, *Eucharistic Worship*, *The Vox Liturgiæ Anglicanæ*, the *History of the Book of Common Prayer*, and his magnum opus, *The Doctrine of the English Church*.

V. The writer might also refer the reader who desires to read supplementary volumes to his own works: *The Protestantism of the Prayer Book; The Church of England Before the Reformation;* and *The Holy Communion of the Church of England*.

This list, of course, is only representative. It does not pretend to be exhaustive. But it is given in the hope that many will be stimulated to enter and investigate the wider field of reading that it opens before the imagination. If the reader has only time for one or two, one would strongly suggest: Gasquet and Tomlinson; Dowden and Dimock; Upton and *The Tutorial Prayer Book*.

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MADE AND PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
BY THE BOWERING PRESS, PLYMOUTH

091111